

L O R D R A W D O N.

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REPORT OF THE

COMMISSIONERS OF THE

LAND OFFICE

FOR THE YEAR 1880

AND

THE STATE OF NEW YORK

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RIGHT HONOURABLE

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MY LORD,

THE volume which I have now the honor to present to your Lordship, and your respectable society, contains propositions and reasonings respecting objects of the highest importance to Great Britain, and although they, as well as what I before published, are extra official, yet, inasmuch as they are the propositions and reasonings of one who was a principal actor in the executive Government, at the time these very im-

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portant matters to which they refer were transacted ; they have the advantage of experience over the more scientific plans and systems of the mere political speculatist, and it is in the hope that they may serve to check that ardour for reform, and thirst for innovation, which seems to be the characteristic of the present speculators upon the constitution, and to indispose Parliament to adopt their Utopian chimeras, that I now lay them before the public. The interposition of your society will, upon such occasions, be of the greatest use ; for there are many propositions which, however idle or extravagant they may be in themselves, or pernicious in their consequences, ministers, even if they are not themselves de-

deceived, cannot resist without hazarding the loss of popularity, and depriving themselves of the support of many very respectable Members of Parliament, who are not accustomed to extend their views far into futurity, or to contemplate such objects in all their relations, some instances of which I have given in the former volume ; but I will here mention one which has a more particular reference to the principal subject of this ; the act for abolishing the heritable jurisdictions in Scotland, and depriving the Highlanders of their peculiar dress, which I will undertake to prove has, by its operation, done more mischief to Great Britain and greater injury to the Highlanders themselves than the two Rebellions, which they were made the instruments of supporting

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ing through their attachment to their chiefs; and when the zealots for universal liberty come with their fine spun theories, for promoting the happiness of the French Canadians, by converting them into English Republicans: I beg your society will take the former and the present state of the North British islands into your consideration, with the papers which are now presented to your Lordship, and them

by your Lordship's

most faithful and

most obedient Servant,

WILL. KNOX.

EXTRA

EXTRA OFFICIAL
STATE PAPERS.

WHOEVER compares the vast importance and extensive consequences of the revolt of the thirteen American provinces, with the insignificance of its immediate cause, will find abundant reason to class it among those wonderful events, which baffle all human prescience to foresee, or ratiocination to account for. That a people the most generally well informed of any nation upon earth, in the full possession of the great blessings of civil and religious liberty, cherished and protected by a state that had lately exerted the greatest power the world ever saw, increasing in numbers, and advancing in prosperity

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perity beyond all former example of the dependencies of great empires, improving in every art and science, and rising into consideration among the greatest and most enlightened nations, should at once renounce all the advantages they derived from such a situation and connection ; expose themselves to the resentment of their parent protector and benefactor ; sacrifice their fisheries and commerce upon which they had subsisted and prospered, and involve themselves in a war with the greatest maritime power that ever existed, without troops, without armed ships, without revenue, without specie money, and without credit, for no greater injury, no greater insult or oppression, than an adherence to a fundamental principle of the relation in which they had been first planted, and always remained, and which they had all acknowledged to be necessary to preserve the connection they had so constantly professed their satisfaction in, and earnest desire to perpetuate ; The regulation of their trade by taxes upon their imports, exercised in a manner so far from burdensome or oppressive, that it actually produced a saving to the country : by the commutation of a duty of eighteen pence paid in England upon tea, and undrawn back upon

exportation to the Colonies, for one of twelve pence paid there upon its importation, is an instance of infatuation unparalleled in the history of mankind, and not to be compared with any other marvellous events that ever happened, but such as are to be found in the war it produced, arising out of the more unaccountable mismanagement of the prodigious land and sea force, Great Britain sent against the rebels, and in the termination of that war by the grant of not only every thing they had contended for, but in the cession of much more territory than they had ever made any claim to.

Marvellous, however, and unaccountable as these events appear upon this statement of them, I am nevertheless well convinced, that sufficient second causes may be assigned for their production, without having recourse to the immediate interposition of Providence, which, however right and proper it is to acknowledge to be the supreme director and controulor of all the affairs of men, yet, as we are allowed to be free agents and accountable for our conduct, we ought to employ that reason which is given us for our guidance in

the investigation of the human means by which effects are produced, and in rendering them as beneficial, or at least as inoffensive to us, as we possibly can, I shall therefore endeavour to trace the causes which predisposed the inhabitants of the thirteen American provinces, to embrace the occasion which the exercise of the power of Parliament to impose port duties, in the instance of the tea duty, afforded them of throwing off their dependence upon Great Britain, as by developing them we shall obtain such just notions of the policy of our ancestors who planted those Colonies, of their utility to this country, and of the necessary or probable consequences of their growth and prosperity, as may be of use in the consideration of the proper management of those which remain to us; for however ridiculous the Irishman's curiosity appears in answering our inquiry of the way to any place by asking us where we came from; I conceive there is more good sense in the question, than those who laugh at him are aware of; for what motive can be more forcible to prevail with us to follow a right direction in future, than the conviction of having gone wrong hitherto.

That

That I might faithfully discharge the trust reposed in me, it was my first care, after my arrival in Georgia, to make myself acquainted with the Constitutions of the several American provinces, their laws, internal regulations, state of improvement, and the nature and extent of their trade, and above all their dispositions towards Great Britain ; and it was with no small degree of astonishment, I perceived a total want of plan or system in the British Government, as well at the time of their establishment, as in their future management, that the seeds of disunion were sown in the first plantation in every one of them, and that a general disposition to independence of this country prevailed throughout the whole. It was the knowledge I had thus acquired of their circumstances and wishes, which enabled me to tear off the masque from all their professions of loyalty to the King, and attachment to Great Britain ; and to expose and confute all their arguments in support of their claim of exemption from the authority of Parliament, whilst they enjoyed the privileges of British subjects, in my *Review of the American Controversy*, which I published in the year 1768, and it must afford no small degree of consola-

tion to the people of this country, under the burdens imposed by the war, and their mortification at its ill success, to find reason to believe, that had America continued a part of the British empire for half a century longer, under the same mode of Government as subsisted in the several provinces before the war, the navigation, manufactures, and a great part of the people of Great Britain and Ireland, would most probably have transported themselves thither, and reduced this country to a state of much greater imbecillity than the vast increase of the public debt, and the weight of taxes imposed in consequence of the American war, has occasioned. To make this appear, I shall proceed to lay before you a state of the Constitutions of their Governments, and of the circumstances of the several provinces before their revolt, in the concise manner I have been accustomed to prepare information for Ministers, who of all things abhor long papers.

The object of making discoveries in North America was at first to procure gold, and that failing, a trade with the natives for their furs, peltry, and tobacco was adopted; for which purpose, Charters of Incorporation, according

cording to the ideas of trade then entertained,
 were granted by James I. to two companies
 residing in London, as I have stated in my
Review, who were empowered to make laws
 and regulations for trading Houses or Colonies
 which they might establish in every part of
 America, from the latitude 34, to the latitude
 45, which includes the whole sea coast from
 the present south boundary of Virginia, to
 the frontiers of Nova Scotia; under these
 charters the country called New England was
 settled, several of the English republicans having
 purchased a right to do so from the Virginia
 companies, and transported themselves thither
 to escape the *abomination of desolation* com-
 mitted by Bishop Laud, in removing the com-
 munion table from the center to the east end
 of the church, and calling it the altar, and ap-
 pointing the 7th verse of the 24th Psalm to be
 chaunted when he entered St. Paul's, and there
 modelled the Government to their own hu-
 mour. And when Charles II. afterwards
 granted separate charters to the Governor and
 Company of the English Colonies of Connec-
 ticut and Rhode Island, he gave them all such
 indulgences as he hoped would entice the
 remaining puritans to remove thither, as to the
 king-

kingdom of saints ; and it is a real fact that those two Colonies were not a whit more under the controul of the King's civil authority before the revolt, than they now are as Independent States. This policy of getting rid of bad or turbulent subjects is also to be discovered in the charters or grants to Penn, of Pennsylvania, and of Maryland to Lord Baltimore, and the Navigation Acts of that reign, which made some regulations respecting the export of their products and import of manufactures, leaves the regulation of their internal policy to themselves. In the grant of Carolina, some intention is discoverable of rendering that country an ally in future to this, by the establishment of an aristocratic power, under the denominations of Margraves, Landgraves, and Barons, to whom grants of lands were made in proportion to their dignity for its support. The Lords proprietors seem, however, to have forgot that the aristocracy of England had sometimes proved too strong for the King, and that it was not improbable the Carolina nobles would be too hard for their Governor, and accordingly it so happened ; for they presently *exported* his Excellency as a *remittance* to the proprietors, the only one I believe they ever
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received

received from their principality. The Trustees of Georgia, made wise by all former experience, adopted a different plan from all their predecessors. They kept their aristocracy as well as their legislature at home, for they made laws here and sent them over ready cut and dry to the settlers, with their civil and military Governor General Oglethorpe. * The use
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* Nothing is more easy than for a military commander at a distance from home to acquire a high reputation for skill and valour, if he happens to be connected with an opposition, who never fail to puff off his exploits, while the Ministers for their own sake are silent upon his misconduct. So it fared with General Oglethorpe, when he commanded in Georgia. He took it into his head to attempt reducing St. Phillip's castle at St. Augustine, a regular fort, situated beyond the reach of any ship of force; built of an excellent material called Tappy, a concretion of shells, which hardens in the air, but produces no splinters when struck by a cannon ball. He landed his regiment, one of the best that ever was in the King's service, upon the island of St. Anastasia, and constructed a battery of *two* guns, I forget of what caliber, within random shot of the castle, between which and him there was a navigable freight of the sea; after firing several shot and breaking some of the windows, he removed one of his *two* guns from the island to the Main and placed it on
the

the Trustees made of their legislative powers, may be seen in pages 162, 163 and 164 of my

the opposite side of the castle by way of *double attack*. The castle still holding out, the General considered that the English mob were accustomed to hear of the taking of the towns in Flanders before the citadels, and determined to furnish his friends with a paragraph for the newspapers suited to their taste; he accordingly ordered the town of St. Augustine to be stormed. The town consisted of a few Palmetta huts, and its fortifications were a Palmetta hedge for keeping in the cattle of the inhabitants. This hedge the soldiers attacked sword in hand, and cut their way through it, and actually got possession of the town without the loss of a man; and so having prepared the populace to applaud his conduct, and to impute his failure in not taking the castle, to the inclemency of the weather, want of camp equipage, or of green forage, or perhaps want of orders from home, he re-embarked his regiment and returned to Georgia. His expedition, however, gave the Spaniards such an alarm, that they determined to dislodge him from Georgia, and accordingly fitted out a very considerable land and sea force from the Havannah to attack him in his newly built town and newly constructed fort at Frederica, which stood upon a branch of the river Alatamaha, about eight miles from its entrance into the sea, at a Sound which he called St. Simons, formed by the islands of St. Simons and Jekyll. When the Spanish fleet arrived in the Sound, the

my *Review*, and the result was, that after continuing in possession of the country near
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the commander of the troops proposed they should sail directly up to the town of Frederica, or as near to it as the depth of the water would allow them, but the admiral would not trust his Majesty's ships in so narrow a river, and the troops, about four thousand, were landed on the island at a place where Oglethorpe had constructed something of a look-out post, but in which there were no men, as his whole regiment was with him at Frederica. The Spaniards finding no opposition at their landing, began their march immediately, but as the whole island was covered with wood, except a few open places that had been formerly cultivated by the Indians, which are called Old Fields or Savannahs, and only a narrow passage cut through by way of road to the town, they could take no cannon or baggage with them, and could only proceed two a-breast, which made their march so tedious, that Oglethorpe had time to be apprized of their rout before they had made any considerable advance towards him, and he dispatched Serjeant Sutherland with twenty men and about forty Chickesaw Indians who were with him, and whom he had brought to obey command, to oppose their progress by taking possession of a little Savannah which lay about four miles from the town. But before Sutherland's party arrived, the Spaniards were already got there, and finding a little pond of fresh water in the middle of it, and the day being ex-
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twenty years, and expending to the amount of fourscore thousand pounds of public and private

tremely hot, the whole body sat down upon the grass to breakfast, in which situation they were when the most advanced of Sutherland's party discovered them. As the party had proceeded with great silence, the Spaniards did not hear them approach, and the skilful serjeant judged from their occupation he should have full time to take his measures for attacking them by surprize. Being no politician and unacquainted with the modern refinements in the military and naval services, of protracting a war for the sake of its emoluments by suffering an enemy to escape when he might be destroyed, or of evading an occasion of rendering an essential service to his King and country, in the hope of throwing blame upon a superior officer and supplanting him in the command, or serving the interests of a faction at home by overturning a minister, the honest Scotsman determined to avail himself of the situation he found the enemy in to give them a total defeat. He accordingly distributed his little corps in a semi-circle under cover of a thick wood, mixing the Indians among the soldiers, and when every man had got to his station, and was near enough to the edge of the Savannah to make sure of doing execution, Sutherland gave the order to fire, when the whole party poured in a volley upon the astonished Spaniards, the Indians at the same time setting up their war whoop, and running from tree to tree, sending in a continual

vate monies, there was not a single plantation settled in the province when they resigned

continual running fire among them; the terror and surprize of the Spaniards deprived them of all thoughts of resistance; their frightened imaginations represented to them all the savages of the Continent surrounding them, they therefore left their arms upon the ground, and without returning a single shot, crouded into the narrow road by which they had entered the Savannah, as many as could get into it, and those who could not, run into thickest part of the woods, where they were hunted out by the Indians some days afterwards, and brought in almost famished with hunger. Those who got safe to the place where they had landed, pushed off the boats which were still upon the beach, rowed to their ships, and were happy to find themselves safe on board again. One of their twenty gun ships had, in the mean time, sailed up the river, and was actually in sight of the fort at Frederica when the troops run away; she was instantly called back, and Oglethorpe seeing her put about jumped into a canoe with a paddle in his hand, calling out to the officers and soldiers who were near him to come along and *drive* the enemy, and actually paddled himself down the river a considerable way in pursuit of the twenty gun ship. The Spanish fleet, however, got to sea without his overtaking any of them; and thus ended the expedition of that famous Armada, which Oglethorpe had the credit of defeating. He was not, however, ungrateful to Sutherland, for he made him a lieutenant.

their Charter. * But if so little foresight of the future greatness of the Colonies, and so little provision for continuing their connexion with this country, be discoverable in the charter and proprietary Governments, it might be expected that in those which are denominated Royal Governments, something more than the powers of paper and parchment would have been employed to render them useful, and retain them in subordination to Great Britain. But there is really no material difference between any of *them*, (except Quebec) and the others. A middle estate has, indeed, been

* When I went there with Governor Ellis, in the year 1756, there was not a trader in the country who imported goods from England, except the merchant whose first cargo went in the ship with us, and we were six months there before we saw another topsail. The produce of all the taxes we could devise for the public services, fell short of 300l. and the only disposable money that remained in the power of the Governor of the grant of Parliament was 200l. yet with those scanty means, that province was brought to export the year I left it, to the amount of 38,000l. Such are the effects of a good and of a bad Constitution; of an ignorant and a well-informed Administration; and hence may the different progresses made by Ireland and the American Colonies in the two last centuries be accounted for.

formed,

formed, called his Majesty's Council, by way of apology for an aristocratic power, to act in the double capacity of a branch of the legislature and Privy Council to the Governor. The influence, however, of this body is too inconsiderable to give the Crown or its Governor any effectual support against the Assembly, for the members hold their seats only during pleasure, and are suspendable by the Governor; and as almost all the public appointments, and all the jobs are made by the Assembly, the poor Counsellors have nothing to console themselves with, for the loss of popularity, by being considered as dependants of the Governor, but the barren and temporary title of Honourable. Hence it is that the men of the greatest property and weight in the province prefer being members of the Assemblies to seats in the Council; and that body is now generally composed of the King's officers and planters of no great estates or consequence in the country. Now when in aid of that republican disposition which such constitutions naturally generate, it is considered that there were no ecclesiastical distinctions or authorities in any of the Colonies, but that every man might become his own priest and set up his own

own religion, and be bound to no other. That there are no nobles of illustrious ancestry and great estates ; no lucrative places or pensions to be disposed of by the King's representative among the members of the Assembly, but that he himself is generally obliged to depend upon that body for his subsistence ; it must appear evident to every one the least versed in political speculations, that in proportion to the increase of the Colonies in numbers and opulence, the power of the Assemblies, as well in the Royal Governments, as in the others, must *augment*, and the authority of the Crown *diminish* ; and that however long the forms and appearance of a Royal Government might be kept up in any of them, that a real and pure democracy must soon be the true description of their Constitutions. How long the thirteen revolted Colonies would have continued to submit to be called an appendage of the British Crown, if no attempt had been made by Parliament to draw a revenue from them, I will not pretend to say, but I do not think I shall hazard any contradiction in asserting, that if that authority, or the exercise of it over America, had been relinquished by Parliament without a war, in the manner it has

has lately been, the republican disposition, which is every day gaining ground in this island and in Ireland, under the masque of free thinking and philosophy, but in truth through the prevalence of infidelity and self-sufficiency, aided by the pressure of high taxes here, and the lure of a free though illicit trade with all the world there, together with all the other incitements which the then orderly harmonious and prosperous state of the American provinces held out to emigrants, but which I do not think it proper to particularize, these islands would not long have retained their people, nor the State its power. To such consequences the leaders in the Colonies had always looked forward ; and the city of Philadelphia was universally considered by them as the future capital of an American empire, in which the British isles and possessions should be absorbed. These ideas of their own future greatness were much heightened by the new mode of application to the Assemblies introduced by Mr. Pitt during the former war ; that of requisitions by the Secretary of State in the King's name, which having opened to them a direct intercourse with the throne, led them to assume all the importance of Parliaments,

and

and to disdain the medium of the Governor for their communications with the Sovereign.

When Mr. Grenville proposed the stamp duties in 1764, I was not admitted to that confidential intercourse with him, with which he afterwards honored me, but from the many conversations I have since had with him upon the subject, I am convinced he had no farther purpose in proposing them, than the raising a permanent revenue from America towards defraying the expence of the civil and military establishments maintained there by Great Britain, without any view or intention to alter their Constitutions, or to abridge their liberties by the operations of those duties; for when I, with Dr. Franklin, Mr. Jackson, and the other Colony agents, represented to him, that by applying the revenues arising from them to the defraying the civil expences of the different Governments, the meetings of the Assemblies would be rendered dependant upon the will of the Governors, as they could carry on their Government without any grants from them; he readily declared he meant no such thing, but that all he desired was to lay a ground for America to pay her own expence,

as Ireland did hers ; and therefore, if the assemblies themselves would make the necessary provisions for their own civil Governments, he would appropriate the stamp duties to the military only, and when we assured him that the assemblies had always done so, and meant to continue to do so, he made the appropriation accordingly to the military services only ;* but notwithstanding that appropriation, the principle upon which the duties were laid, and the consequences that would have followed from them, had the most direct and certain tendency to impede the Colonies in their progress to independence, and the leaders were clear sighted enough to see that such would be their operation ; they saw that requisitions from the Crown, which had exalted the assemblies into Parliaments, were no more to be expected, and that the assemblies would only have to give and grant for local purposes ; that the collection of duties would occasion a considerable increase in the number of persons

* What passed in these conferences, I related in a pamphlet I published in the year 1765, intitled, *The claim of the Colonies examined*, an extract of which I have given in the Appendix, No. 1, as the pamphlet itself is out of print,

holding offices under the Crown, and deriving their appointments from British interest, and would be a severe cheque upon the propagation of antimonarchical principles within the Colonies, and upon illicit connections with foreign countries; all of which would prove great retardments of their grand views: and upon these grounds, and the assurances of support they received from certain great men in this country, it was that they determined to resist the stamp duties.* But if they had such powerful motives to resist those duties, when their produce was appropriated to the military service only, how much more strongly were they stimulated to oppose the subsequently imposed port duties, when their produce was ex-

* The morning after the Resolution had passed in the House of Commons, to repeal the stamp act and to bring in the declaratory bill, I was sent for to a meeting of the opposition at Mr. Rigby's in Parliament Street; when I came there, Mr. Grenville and Mr. Rigby came out to me and told me, the Duke of Bedford and several others desired to know my opinion of the effects which those Resolutions would produce in America. My answer was in a few words—*addresses of thanks and measures of rebellion*. Mr. Grenville smiled and shook his head, and Mr. Rigby swore by G—d he thought so, and both wished me a good morning.

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preſſly appropriated to defray the expence of *their* civil eſtabliſhment, which was ſo far from proceeding againſt their hopes of greatneſs, independence and univerſal empire by *ſap*, as the ſtamp duties would have done, that it was attacking them by ſtorm in open day ; every man therefore ſaw into the deſign, for every man was able to ſatisfy himſelf, that if the civil expences of the Colony were defrayed by duties impoſed by Parliament, and all the officers paid out of it and appointed by the Crown, their Sun of independence would be much longer a riſing than they wiſhed or hoped for ; it therefore required not the aſſurances of ſupport from great men on this ſide of the water, to excite them to reſiſt the collection of thoſe duties, as in the caſe of the ſtamp act ; for they ſaw their Diana was ſtruck at, and they univerſally reſolved to defend her. The purpoſe for which the 12d. upon the tea was impoſed, and the precedent it was meant to eſtabliſh, ſuperſeded, in the minds of the Americans, all conſiderations of ſaving in the price by the alteration of the duty, and indeed of all the dangerous conſequences of reſiſting the payment of it ; and however we may abhor the principle which incited them to reſiſt it, we

must acknowledge the undertaking to be an unequivocal proof, both of their spirit and sagacity.

Having thus traced the causes of this great event, and shewn them to have been engendered by the Constitutions under which the Colonies were planted, the inferences which must be drawn from the investigation, though they do little credit to either the policy or integrity of our ancestors, will, I trust, sufficiently justify the assertion I set out with, viz. That the late separation of the thirteen American Colonies from the Government of Great Britain, is not so great an evil to this country as would have been their continuance under it for half a century longer. But although I returned from America, fully impressed with the dangerous consequences to this country of the Colonies continuing under their then Constitutions, I did not entertain an idea of their so speedily becoming independent, or that it would have been wise in Great Britain to throw them off entirely ; for on the contrary, I imagined that such amendments might be made in their Constitutions, and such improvements in the system (if it deserved to be called a system)

tem) by which they had been governed, as would produce a desire in them to continue united with us, and render their union beneficial to the whole empire; and with that view, I drew up a paper immediately after the peace of Paris, which Lord Grosvenor put into the Earl of Bute's hands, who observed upon it that it appeared to him to be of much greater importance to bring our old Colonies into order, than to plant new ones; but no steps were taken by his Lordship that I know of, for such purpose, and indeed it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to have carried through Parliament the regulations I proposed; for the haughty spirit of the then Commons of England would not endure any question of their omnipotence over all the members of the British empire, nor would they hear of any limitation or even qualification in the exercise of it, but their own will. To have asserted the existence of *rights* in the assemblies of the Colonies, or even in the Parliament of Ireland, which they could not extinguish or controul, would have excited the general indignation, and therefore the only restraints upon their omnipotence, which I ventured to suggest in the pamphlet I published on the occasion of the
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proposition of the stamp duties, were such as
 left the authority unquestioned and undimi-
 nished. But my first great object in the
 plan of regulations I had prepared for cement-
 ing a permanent union between the two
 countries, was to increase the magnitude of
 the head to a nearer proportion with the vast
 body, by connecting Ireland with Great Bri-
 tain in the trade with the Colonies, and taking
 her weight out of the scale of the dependen-
 cies, and throwing it into that of Great Bri-
 tain, by giving her the same interest with Great
 Britain in continuing the Colonies dependent
 upon her ; and as so many of the inhabitants of
 the northern Colonies were of Irish extraction
 and related to Irishmen, the influence of their
 connection would be the greater, and their at-
 tachment the more lasting. And it was upon
 these grounds the King's Ministers, with
 whom I had the honor to serve, admitted Ire-
 land into a participation in the trade with the
 Colonies, in the manner I have stated in my
 former publication. My second object was, to
 amend the Colony Constitutions by creating an
 aristocratic estate in them ; and my third, to
 direct the stream of the great men's ambition
 to this kingdom, and attach them to its prof-
 perity

perity and the jurisdiction of Parliament, by giving a certain number of them seats in the House of Commons as Colony Representatives, and it must fill the Americans with astonishment to be told, that the man whom they considered as their greatest enemy, the late Mr. Grenville, approved of my plan. This assertion will, I doubt not, appear extraordinary, even to that great Minister's nearest relations, for I believe he never opened himself freely upon the subject to any one but myself, and therefore I have given in the Appendix, No. 2, a Letter from him to me, in which he touches upon the point of the Colonies sending representatives. Indeed he often expressed it to me as his opinion, that the Colonies had just ground of complaint in the want of them, but *he did not propose* giving them to them, because, as he expressed it, he found the House of Commons would not endure the proposition; Mr. Richard Jackson, agent for Connecticut, who was his secretary, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, had with his concurrence thrown it out in his speech against the stamp act, and it was received with universal disapprobation. To impress the nation with a just respect and gratitude for the memory of that great and excellent

lent man, I have also annexed copies of seven more of his Letters to me upon public affairs, from which it must appear how far he was from that narrow mindedness and severity, which were imputed to him. In one point indeed, I thought him too limited in his ideas, as the great Minister of the British Empire, but the people of England will not much blame him on that account, I mean his great partiality to England, in preference to all the other parts of the King's dominions; for he not only considered England as the head and heart of the whole, as it certainly is, but he wished to render every other part the mere instrument or conduit of conveying nourishment and vigor to it. He was not well acquainted with the internal State of Ireland, and he knew still less of the circumstances of the American Colonies, and every encouragement that he thought either ought to receive, had no other reference than to the increase of the trade or revenue of this country. We had many conversations on these topics, and as I was able to give him much better information than he ever had an opportunity to obtain before, and he always received it with as much candour and openness to conviction as any man I ever knew. I am
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well

well persuaded if he had been again placed at the head of Administration, neither of those great Members of the Empire would have had to complain of his conduct towards them.

The single point upon which we differed, was the omnipotence of Parliament in its jurisdiction over the Colonies. I thought it ought to be limited, in the case of taxation at least, but he would consent to no stipulation of restraint ; but while he adhered to his principle of an undivided uncontrollable jurisdiction in the one supreme legislature of the whole empire, he meant that the Colonies should have representatives in it, and if their application for them was refused, he would then have consented to the giving them some security against the wanton exercise of that authority ; and it was from a commixture of the idea I had received from him with my own, that in an early stage of the dispute with the Colonies, I formed the project of a permanent union and settlement with them, on which account I have thought it worth preserving, as it may be of use in some future time, and have therefore given it in the Appendix, No. 11.

As I have gone so far into Mr. Grenville's character, I will go a little farther in order to do justice to his memory, which I cannot now be supposed to have any interest to vindicate, much less to flatter. Under a manner rather austere and forbidding, he covered a heart as feeling and tender as any man ever possessed. He liked office as well for its emoluments as its power ; but in his attention to himself he never failed to pay regard to the situations and circumstances of his friends, though to neither would he warp the public interest or service in the smallest degree ; rigid in his opinions of public justice and integrity, and firm to inflexibility in the construction of his mind, he reprobated every suggestion of the political expediency of overlooking frauds or evasions in the payment or collection of the revenue, or of waste and extravagance in its expenditure. But although he would not bend any measure out of the strict line of rectitude to gain popularity, he was far from being indifferent to the good or ill opinion of the public ; and that tediousness and repetition which his speeches in Parliament, and his transactions with men of business were charged with, were occasioned by the earnestness of his desire to satisfy

satisfy and convince those he addressed of the purity of his motives and the propriety of his conduct ; and while there remained a single reason in his own mind, that he thought would serve those purposes, he could not be content to rest upon those he had already adduced, however convinced and satisfied his hearers appeared to be with them.

Inheriting but a small patrimonial fortune, he had early accustomed himself to a strict appropriation of his income, and an exact œconomy in its expenditure, as the only sure ground on which to build a reputation for public and private integrity, and to support a dignified independency ; and it was the unvaried practice of his life in all situations, as he has often told me, to live upon his own private fortune, and save the emoluments of whatever office he possessed ; on which account he added : “ The being in or out makes no difference in my establishment or manner of life. Every thing goes on at home in the same way. The only difference is, that my childrens fortunes would be increased by my being in, beyond what they would be if I remained out, and that is be-

“ing as little dependant upon office as any
 “man who was not born to a great estate can
 “possibly be ;” and he manifested that independence at a time and in a manner but little known, and as the relation can now do no harm, I shall repeat the account he gave me of it. He had accepted the seals of one of the Secretaries of State in Lord Bute’s Administration, and by so doing drew upon himself the resentment and abuse of the then popular party and of some of his own nearest relations ; his return, therefore, to them, was rendered impracticable upon any occasion, and he had every motive to induce him to remain with his present connection. Notwithstanding which, he very soon hazarded his continuance in office in support of his opinion, of what ought to be done for the advantage of the public, on the following occasion :

While the peace was negotiating, the expedition against the Havannah was carrying on, and as the chance of its success or failure was not very unequal, the negotiators agreed to leave it out in their *uti possidetis*, considering the event as perfectly neutral ; so that if after the preliminaries were signed, it was found to be taken, it was to be restored without compensation.

penfation. Before the preliminaries were figned, however, the account of its capture was received, and Mr. Grenville immediately propofed that it fhould now be included in the *uti poffidetis*, and compenfation for it infifted upon, for as the event was decided before the preliminaries were figned, either party was at liberty to avail themfelves of it. Lord Bute thought the treaty was too far advanced to make any advantage of the event being in our favour, and he feared that our making any fresh demand, would not only protract but break off the negotiation, and prevent the peace taking place immediately, which he thought fo neceffary for the nation. Mr. Grenville was clear in his opinion of our right to make the demand, and firm in infifting that it fhould be made, and propofed two alternatives for confideration. The one, that if we judged it beft to get the intire poffeffion of the continent of North America, France having already agreed to cede all Canada, that we fhould infift upon Florida and Louifiana: the other, that if we thought it neceffary to increafe our poffeffions in the Weft Indies, beyond the three neutral iflands, which France had alfo agreed to give us, we fhould ask Porto Rico, and the property of
what

what we held upon the Spanish main ; and he left the Earl with declaring that he would resign the seals, if one of those alternatives was not adopted and insisted upon. After consulting with Mr. Fox and Lord Egremont, Lord Bute agreed to make the demand of Florida and Louisiana, and instructions to that purpose were immediately dispatched to the Duke of Bedford, who made so able and strenuous an application in consequence of them, that the Duke de Choiseul not only consented to cede Louisiana, but obliged the Spanish Minister to cede Florida also, without sending to his Court for fresh orders, and the preliminaries were not delayed more than a fortnight by the demand and acquisition of that immense territory*.

* The restoration of Florida and the cession of Louisiana to Spain, were made with the like ignorance and facility in 1783, by our negotiators. We had joined Louisiana and Florida together, and divided the whole country into two provinces, under the names of East and West Florida. That transaction, it seems, was too far back to come within the reach of the Minister's own comprehension, and the heterogeneous group of negociators they employed, were unable to assist their memories, and therefore the whole country was given to Spain as *her own* Florida, without any notice of the addition of Louisiana or the least compensation for it.

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As it was Mr. Grenville's constant and peculiar practice to keep copies of all the letters he ever writ, and a man's character is best known by his correspondence, his noble descendant has it in his power, and no one is more able to oblige and instruct the nation with a complete history of his political life and opinions; I shall therefore wind up the character I have been endeavouring to give of that great and excellent man, by the recital of a fact, which at the same time it marks the leading features in the character of another distinguished person, as well as Mr. Grenville, will shew to mankind how justly great minds are capable of acting and thinking towards each other, whatever may be the difference of their political situations; and it will serve to inculcate this very useful and necessary lesson to all those who undertake or aim at the confidential subordinate offices of the State, viz. that the surest means of obtaining the esteem and confidence of their new principals is to maintain un sullied honor and integrity with former connections. When the Earl of Hillsborough sent to me and offered me the joint under secretaryship with Mr. Pownall, I told his Lordship, that I then was, and had been for a long time, honored with
great

great intimacy and friendship by Mr. Grenville; that I was possessed of many of his public ideas and opinions, collected or rather imbibed in the several confidential conversations I had with him; and that therefore, however happy I should be to undertake an office under his Lordship, which so intirely corresponded with my views and habits, I could not think of making any engagement without first communicating his offer to Mr. Grenville, and receiving his approbation. The noble Earl replied, that he knew of my connection with Mr. Grenville before he sent to me, and that if I had not said what I did, he should have entertained a very different opinion of me, from that which the confidence he intended placing in me might shew me he then had, and that if I had not desired permission to acquaint Mr. Grenville with the offer he had made me, he should have told me I ought to do it. I accordingly went down to Wooton, where I knew Mr. Grenville then was, and was received by him with that kindness and affection which he always shewed me. I did not, however, think it right to acquaint him immediately with the particular occasion of my coming, but waited first to learn from him what were

his own purposes or views respecting public matters, and especially with regard to his expectations of coming into office, for I considered that by informing him of the offer made to me, and asking his opinion whether I should accept or refuse it, I should lay him under the difficulty of either allowing me to quit him, though he might be desirous that I should continue with him, or give me a stronger claim to service from him, by preventing me from taking what had been offered me by Lord Hillsborough, than he might chuse to do. He very soon shewed me that all reserve and caution upon the subject were unnecessary, by telling me that he found his health and spirits very much declined; that he had given up all thoughts of office, and did not wish to take any active part in public business; that he hated being in opposition, but had been dragged into it by Lord Temple, who imputed his indisposition to take a part to his keeping up old resentments, which God knew, he said, he was the farthest man in the world from entertaining upon account of any difference of opinion in public measures; but added he, if I had meant to return to office, I am sure I should have been many pikes length

nearer it, had I continued walking about these grounds, than by a constant attendance in the House of Commons, for I know *the King will not be forced, and he ought not*; but, he continued with a deep sigh, and putting his hand upon his side, I am no longer capable of serving the public, my health and spirits are gone: the only thing I have any intention of doing, is to endeavour to give some cheque to the abominable prostitution of the House of Commons in Elections, by voting in whoever has the support of the Minister, which must end in the ruin of public liberty if it be not chequed. I then told him the offer that had been made to me, which he said he was very glad of; for he was pleased to say, it was with regret he had thought it would never be in his power to be of any use to me, in return for all the attention I had shewn to him: that it was his wish that all his friends should accept of situations which they thought honorable and proper for them, without any attention to him, and as he thought me very fit for the office, he would advise me to accept it if I felt no objections in my own mind. I answered, that I certainly had none, as I liked the situation, and had the greatest respect and esteem

esteem for the principal, and wished much to be connected with his Lordship ; but that one difficulty remained which I could not get over, and that was, the apprehension that the interruption which my situation must necessarily occasion in that intercourse and confidence which he had honored me with, and which I prized above all considerations, might abate the friendship he had shewn me, or lessen me in his esteem ; but he assured me, that it should not do either, for that he should continue to entertain the same good opinion of me which he then had, and indeed, the answer which he sent me to the letter I writ to him after I returned to town and had accepted the appointment of Under Secretary, which I have given in the Appendix, No. 10, will testify that he did so.

The Earl of Hillsborough was so fully persuaded of the dangerous consequences to this country and Ireland, of extending the settlements in the North American Colonies, that I had no occasion to make his Lordship any representations upon that subject. A very judicious measure which he had planned and promoted for confining them on the east side to the heads of

the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, was then carrying into execution, and a boundary line was actually drawn and marked out at the backs of them all, from the Hudson's River to the Mississippi, and treaties were made with the Indians for restraining the settlements within it. In this measure all the great land-owners in the Colonies heartily concurred, as they clearly perceived that by confining the inhabitants to the lands already located, the value of their unsettled lands must necessarily increase, they therefore made a temporary suspension of their pursuit of independence, for the sake of their immediate profit, and passed laws in all the Provinces confirming the treaties with the Indians, and describing the boundary line as the extent of legal jurisdiction. The settlements on the side of Canada were also restrained to the access by navigation, by Royal instructions at the same time. But his Lordship soon after conceiving that all his measures of restraint would be broke through by the countenance shewn to Mr. Wharton's application, for a grant of a tract of lands upon the Ohio, sufficient to form a separate government, resigned the seals. I remember saying to his Lordship upon that occasion, that although I

entirely

entirely agreed with him in the wisdom and fitness of his measures as a British Minister, yet as they had for their object, the keeping waste a vast portion of the earth, for the advantage of these little islands, his policy militated so directly against the evident purpose of the Creator, that I was sure he would not suffer it to succeed, and that we must look to be counteracted by providential dispensations, and indeed the late revolution in America has shewn that I was not mistaken in that expectation, for I am fully persuaded that the population and settlement of that immense country, between the Allegany Mountains and the Southern Ocean, could not have been so speedily or certainly promoted by any other means as by that revolution, and the events which led to it. For notwithstanding the measure of settling a Colony upon the Ohio had been adopted by the Cabinet, it was never carried into execution, for the then Attorney General, now Lord Thurlow, considering the grant as injurious to the just rights of the Crown and the interests of the people, with that inflexible attention to both, which has so eminently distinguished his conduct in every situation, refused his fiat to the King's sign manual, without

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which

which it could not pass the Great Seal ; and the former policy of confining the settlements within the Allegany mountains, was again pursued ; and as that policy was equally adapted to promote the private interests of the Colony Assemblymen, and the views of the British Ministers, and highly agreeable to the Indian Tribes, the emigrants who could have passed into, or seated themselves in that country, would have been only the lawless or roving woods-men, who live like the savages, without tillage, and support themselves by hunting ; so that many ages must have elapsed before the lands could have received any considerable improvement. But the war having overturned all legal authority, and the violent and needy having become the chief rulers in every Colony, it is their interest to extend the boundaries, and create estates for themselves in the distant territory ; and the weight of the taxes the Assemblies have been obliged to impose, in order to pay the interest of their enormous Provincial debts, and for the maintenance of their civil establishments, operating with the pressure of private debts, and loss of markets for their products, and refusal of credit by the merchants, stimulate the multitude to
abandon

abandon their settlements, and remove out of the reach of their creditors and tax-gatherers ; and they now pass into that country in such numerous bodies, that in a very few years there will be more Americans to be found on the west, than on the eastern side of the Alleghany mountains.

The effects of this population will now be very different from those which were to have been apprehended from the establishment of new Colonies, or the regular extension of the settlements of the old beyond those mountains, while they remained a part of the British empire. The emigrants now carry with them no civil compact, regulation, or jurisdiction whatever ; they have no connection or common interest. They are subject to no legal restraints, nor is there any coercive force to confine them within any bounds, but their own wills and necessities. None of the States pretend to exercise authority over them ; and if they did, they are without the means of enforcing their claims. The extent of the country before them is so immense, and the Aborigines so few, that there is abundant room for every man to chuse his own situation, and remove to another as often
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as he dislikes or tires of that he has fixed upon. A benign climate and a fruitful country suffers them to have few wants but such as the individuals can themselves supply. They can therefore have but feeble incitements to form themselves into regular governments; for the sacrifice a man so circumstanced must make of his liberty and indulgences by submitting to a government, will not in his mind be compensated by the advantages to be derived from it, and such is the fact, for there never was an instance of a man accustomed to reside among the Indians, that after his return to the settled country with the property he had acquired there, that enjoyed polished society, and did not regret his former liberty. Before the disputes with the Colonies, there were many thousand Americans who had no fixed or legal residence, and never desired to have any. They provided themselves with as many wild horses or neat cattle as they had occasion for, and after taming them sufficiently to make them draw, yoked them to a cart, into which they put their wives and children and stuff, and drove through the woods until they found a situation they liked, and there they sat down. The bark they stripped from the pine trees
made

made a cover for their stuff, and the cart turned bottom up, became a temporary house for themselves. The gun furnished flesh, and roasted chesnuts or other mast served for bread, and the juice of the maple tree mixed with water made their liquor. If they greatly liked the spot, they would plant a little corn, and collect a store of nuts and acorns, and preserve them by parching them in the fire; but they seldom staid long in a place; and I remember numbers of them being offered lands by the Governments of South Carolina and Georgia, free of all charges and exempt from all taxes for a certain number of years, and their refusing the offer, saying, they would not be bound to any country or any Government. In time it may be said they must, from necessity, form States and become a great empire; but whoever thinks so, let him look upon the map of North America, and calculate in what number of ages that vast continent will be overspread in the manner I have been representing, and so thickly peopled as not to allow room for farther removal, and the inhabitants be thence forced to submit to government, for until that happens, I will venture to prophesy no great empire will ever

be formed in America, or any great force exerted by the ruling powers there, except in the manner of the eastern Scythians or Tartars, by pouring down upon the neighbouring countries. The present state of the north of Asia may help us to form a judgement of what will be the state of North and indeed of South America also. The first settlement of the sons of Noah, above 4000 years ago, was in Armenia, and the emigrants which went to the North and East, have never been able to cultivate that immense country, nor have they formed to themselves such constitutions of government as European nations would call *civil*. They carry on no foreign trade, have no shipping, and but little intercourse with the rest of the world, being equally unknowing and unknown. They live happily notwithstanding, and I am confident they would not change their mode of living with the most refined people upon the globe; and such will the Transallegany mountain people be 4000 years hence, if the world lasts so long. The inhabitants of the sea coast, who have much property in houses and other buildings, and cultivated lands, must remain upon the spots they are fixed to, and must submit to some sort of government or other; but
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whatever it may be, it must be feeble and without respect; for the very circumstances which in their former condition of appendages to the British empire would have constituted their greatness and opulence, will now prove the occasion of the weakness and poverty of their governments. These circumstances are the vast extent of their sea coast and numerous ports, and the immensity of the country behind them. I do not think it necessary to give my reasons for this assertion; but let those who think it paradoxical contrive for any of them a mode of raising a considerable revenue which will not have a tendency to transfer their trade into other hands, or drive away their people, or shew how a government can have vigor at home, or respect abroad, without such a revenue, and I will retract what I have said: but I will go farther and venture to assure those States, that if they do not recover their characters for integrity in their dealings, and thereby restore their credit with the British merchants, and form such a connection with this country as shall secure to them its *protection* and *umperage*, they will degenerate into barbarous if not into Barbary States; in the mean time, the good people of Great Britain and

Ireland may quiet their apprehensions of seeing any of the thirteen American States, or all of them united, rising into a great maritime power, disputing the dominion of the Atlantic ocean with the British navy, or stripping the Crown of its West Indian possessions; for if the policy adopted in the year 1783 be adhered to, and the regulations then made or proposed be established and completed, a naval force equal to the protection of the British commerce and possessions from the depredations of the Barbary States will, in all future ages, be sufficient to combat the marine of America. All the causes I have assigned for the dispersion of the inhabitants and imbecillity of the Governments of the United States, and many more, happily operate to prevent the emigration of people from these islands to America; and in that light the separation and independency of the thirteen Provinces *in the manner it was brought about*, may be considered as *negatively* beneficial to this country, and it will be our fault if it be not rendered *positively* beneficial also. But the importance and permanency of this benefit depends upon the wisdom of our future conduct; for I am free to declare my firm persuasion,

suasion, that if that much abused term *Liberality*, which now is made to signify atheism in religion and anarchy in government, gets possession of our councils upon American affairs, we have still connection enough with that country *to work the ruin of this*. The sacrifice which the adoption of that abused term after the peace had well nigh made of our navigation to the establishment of an American marine is well known; but in justice to myself and to the noble Lords who were influenced by my reasonings, I think it fit to make the public acquainted with the steps which were taken for its preservation.

When Lord North received the seals of Secretary of State for the home department, in the year 1783, my assistance was desired in framing regulations for our remaining Colonies, and for the intercourse between the United States and them, and between the United States and Great Britain, which I most readily undertook to give, without office, without emolument, and without promise or expectation of either. But before I entered upon the business, I desired to know if the Administration concurred with me in the principle

ciple I meant to found the regulations upon, which was, that *it was better to have no colonies at all, than not to have them subservient to the maritime strength and commercial interests of Great Britain.* This principle I make no secret of, for I have ever avowed it, even in America, and as an American planter, when I was deeply interested in the prosperity and security of that country, and its continuing to be a member of the British empire ; and I would ask the most interested colonist to shew upon what *other principle* he founds his expectation of security in his possessions and protection in his trade, as a British subject, than the superiority of the British navy to that of any other power ? And if he can assign none, he must be obliged to confess, that it is his essential interest to augment that navy, and to increase and extend that commerce which is the support of it. Indeed, if he secretly aims at separation from the British empire, and either to become an independent state, or connect with some other power, he acts consistently with those views when he attempts to reduce the naval strength of Great Britain, and raise up a marine for other nations, by receiving his supplies from foreign states, and

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employing foreign ships in transporting them; as by so doing he does his utmost to destroy *that naval power* which alone can oppose the completion of his purposes. And therefore there can be no better test devised to discover whether it be the wish of a colony to continue an appendage of Great Britain, or to separate from her, than the *satisfaction* or *impatience* the inhabitants express under *our navigation laws*.

Upon that principle, therefore, and upon that principle alone, did I found all the regulations I proposed, as will appear by the annexed copies, No. 12, 13, 14, and 15, of *such parts* of the Papers I drew up, and presented to Lord North, as respect the measures which have been adopted, and actually carried into execution, and may therefore be properly laid before the public. What I proposed respecting the rice and tobacco, I thought required more immediate dispatch than the other matters, and therefore I extracted so much of the Paper, No. 12, as related to them, and carried it to Mr. Fox's office, and gave it to Mr. Frazer, to be delivered to that gentleman, as I had not the honor to be known to him, who with that quick perception and instant de-

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cision which so eminently marks his character, asked leave that same day to bring in a bill for the purpose.

My general and correct knowledge of the whole course of the American circuitous trade enabled me to judge in what part of the chain the cutting out a link would most effectually interrupt its progress and divert the navigation into our channel.* I therefore determined to oppose the whole American and West Indian interests supported as they were by some of the Members of the then Administration, and frame the regulations for the intercourse between the American States and the British West India islands, so *as utterly to exclude the American shipping*, and I drew up the Paper in the Appendix, No. 13, with that view, and I prepared the draught of a bill accordingly; but it being judged more prudent to make the regulations I proposed by order of Council than by act of Parliament, my draught of a bill, with Mr. Rosier's assistance, was converted into the order of Council passed the 2d of July, 1783, a copy of which is in the Ap-

* Vide Examination before the Privy Council, No. 18, in the Appendix.

pendix, No. 16, which I wish may be engraved upon my tombstone, as having *saved the navigation of England*.—As I had communicated to Lord Sackville all the regulations I had proposed, I also informed him of my success, and his Lordship's opinion of my plan will be seen in his letter to me, No. 17. The American faction were thunderstruck by the appearance of that order of Council, and as the Administration was soon after changed, the West India Planters uniting with the Americans prevailed, (as Mr. Atkinson, who was their chief manager, boasted to me) with the Ministers to promise to revoke, or at least to alter, the order so as to admit American vessels of a certain burden to trade to the British West India islands. I mentioned what I had been told to Lord Sackville, who, as his Lordship afterwards acquainted me and several others, took the first occasion of meeting Mr. Townshend (now Lord Sydney) to warn him of the dangerous consequences of the measure it was said the ministry were about to adopt, not only to the nation but to *themselves*, and used such powerful arguments to dissuade him from it, that the Ministers thought fit to direct the committee of Privy Council to make a solemn inquiry into the necessity or propriety of

complying with what was desired by the Americans and West Indians. I was called before that committee and examined for three several days, and having been favoured with a copy of the evidence I there gave, I have added it in the Appendix, No. 18. It does not become me to say how far my evidence influenced the committee, especially as Lord Sheffield's excellent pamphlet upon the subject had then appeared, but I have the heartfelt satisfaction to reflect, that the order was neither *revoked* nor *altered*, but on the contrary has been thrice renewed, and at last converted into an act of Parliament by that very Administration which it was said had pledged themselves to rescind it; and I have the still greater happiness of knowing, that through its operation that most valuable and essential trade of ship building has revived throughout Great Britain, inasmuch that the British tonnage has increased full 200,000 tons since it was made, while the American shipwrights are deserting from the United States for want of employment, and all hopes of raising a marine departing with them.*

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* To *desist* from the pursuit of weak or mischievous measures upon receiving just information of their

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In this publication, as well as in the former, I have been careful to withhold every paper which, though not strictly official, I had submitted to the consideration of any of the King's confidential servants while I was in office; but there is one, which having been the ground of instructions that *were never obeyed*, and which if they had been obeyed, would, in the judgement of all men, have prevented those misfortunes and calamities which happened in the Carolina's and Georgia, subsequent to the capture of Charles-Town, which I think, in justice to those who gave those instructions, ought to be made public, and therefore I have added it in the Appendix, No. 19.

From what I have said upon the subject of Colonisation, and the papers I have annexed destructive tendency, is the best apology that can be made for having been deceived by artifice and misrepresentation, and to *that merit* the Ministers are justly intitled for their conduct respecting the British navigation and Colonies, though their *preserver* has been treated with disregard. It is however a sufficient consolation to him to have possessed the friendship and esteem, of as able and as good Ministers as any this country ever saw, and that the British empire will continue to be benefited by his services until it ceases to be one,

to this and a former publication, a *part* of the plan upon which a new colony was intended to have been settled, which I referred to in my letter to Mr. Pitt, may be collected; and I do not think it proper to go into more particulars, while there is any ground to hope the other parts may become objects of consideration with the King's servants; and for the same reason I have withheld the publication of the Regulations I proposed for Newfoundland, Quebec, and the West-India islands; but from the copies and extracts of two letters from Lord Sackville to me upon the subject of the New Colony, which I have given in the Appendix, No. 20 and 21, the approbation I said my plan had met with will be confirmed.* I have also
given

* It may however be proper to give some account of the cause of its not being carried into execution, especially as all the subjects of the British empire will thereby receive a fresh proof, in addition to the many they are already possessed of, how great their happiness is, and how firm their security for their lives and properties, when a Chief Seat of Public Justice is filled by a Magistrate who is so scrupulously observant of the sacredness of charter rights, that he would not suffer them in the least to be infringed, even in the case of the revolted subjects of the Massachusetts Bay.

The country where it was proposed to establish the Colony of New Ireland is known by the name of the
Province

given an extract of another letter of his Lordship's, in proof of what I had stated to Lord Shelburne, that it was his Lordship's intention to establish a post on the Chesapeake, as I understand some doubts are entertained of the truth of that representation. The latter part of that letter does not indeed relate to that subject, but it contains expressions so very honourable and flattering to myself, that I could not prevail upon my vanity to leave them out; and as a farther testimony of his Lordship's goodness to me, I have

Province of Main. It is included in the ancient charter of the Massachusetts Bay, but the General Courts of that Province were restrained by the charter from making any grants of the lands without the consent of the Crown, which having been generally refused, few settlements had been made to the east of the river Kennebeck, and none to the east of Penobscott. By the latter river therefore, and the St. Croix, the western boundary of Nova Scotia was the new Province to have been bounded, and as there were no inhabitants, nor any lands granted to individuals, the making a settlement there, after we had taken possession of the post at Penobscott, did not appear to the Ministers so great an act of violence as to prevent them from entertaining the purpose, until the Attorney General, now Lord Loughborough, refused his concurrence, because of the lands being included in the Massachusetts Bay Charter.

added a copy of another letter also, which his Lordship writ to me upon the occasion of a pecuniary misfortune which had happened to me at a time when I was much indisposed, and little able to support it after the other grievous losses I had sustained. For although his Lordship may not be allowed to have been a *true* prophet, the benevolence that dictated the prediction, will always do honour to *his* heart, and be gratefully remembered by *mine*.

That I might not increase the size of this volume beyond the industry of those for whose perusal it is intended, I shall reserve the observations I have to make upon the application for an alteration in the Constitution of Quebec, for the Introduction to the new edition of my pamphlet in defence of the present bill, which is preparing for the press, though I doubt not the judicious reader will apply much of what I have already said to that subject, and discover in it abundant reasons for withstanding any alteration in the Constitution of that Province as established by that bill.

P. S. Since the preceding sheets were written, I have seen Sir John Dalrymple's second volume

volume of Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, in which he has given a plan for the attack of the Spanish dominions on the west side of America, that had been presented to Lord George Germaine; and lest it might be supposed from that publication that it was not properly attended to, I will take upon me to assure Sir John and the public, that whoever can obtain leave to read over his Lordship's secret correspondence with Governor Dalling at Jamaica, and Governor Robertson at New York, will find sufficient information to satisfy him, that the object of that plan was so far from being treated with neglect, that it was comprehended in one of *much greater extent*, and which Governor Dalling conceived so highly of, and was so sanguine in his expectation of its success, that he laid in a claim to be appointed the King of England's first Viceroy of Peru and Mexico. How it happened to fail will, I hope, become one day the object of Parliamentary enquiry.

A P P E N D I X.

No. I.

*Extract of a Pamphlet published in 1775, intitled, “ The Claim of the Colonies to Ex-
“ emption from Taxes imposed by Autho-
“ rity of Parliament, examined, page 27.”*

HAVING now said what I thought necessary in support of my opinion of the right of Parliament to a complete jurisdiction over the Colonies, and the advantage of it to the people in America, I shall, in justice to my fellow subjects in that country, state the circumstances wherein their case differs from that of the non-electors in Great-Britain, and offer some reasons, why, in my humble apprehension, the Parliament should, in the exercise

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of

of its power of imposing taxes upon both, be more tender in its proceedings when the Colonies are the objects of them, than when it is the people of Great Britain.

One material difference in favour of the non-electors in Great Britain, is the fixed landed property which every member of Parliament must have within the kingdom of Great Britain, for as all taxes do ultimately affect the land-owner, the non-electors from this circumstance derive a security that the members of Parliament will be careful not to tax them immoderately or unnecessarily, as they would thereby burden themselves also. But no member of Parliament, as such, can be immediately or ultimately affected by any tax he imposes on the people in the Colonies, on the contrary, his own property must be eased thereby. Another circumstance of security which the non-electors in Great Britain have, and which the subjects in the Colonies do not share in, is, that the justice of Parliament would not suffer any tax to be imposed on them which would not also affect those of the people who have the right of electing the members of Parliament, and as the duration of Parliament is limited,

limited, the members will be always careful not to lay any burdens on their electors, which may be thought either so heavy or so injudicious as to provoke their resentment, and thereby direct their choice to other gentlemen at the next general election.

But if we should even suppose the Parliament could be so unjust, and so partial to their own members and their particular constituents, as to devise a tax which should be paid only by those of the people of Great Britain, who were neither members of Parliament or had a right of voting for a member, yet still the non-electors would have a security against the excessive weight of such a tax which the Colonies have not, which is, that the members of Parliament and their electors must be relatively affected by it. I will suppose an excessive tax to be imposed on the merchants of London, or the manufacturers of Birmingham, what would be the consequence? The merchants would presently remove from the one place, and the manufacturers from the other, and then what would become of the freeholders and owners of land and houses in and near those places? But the industrious North Americans

and the opulent West Indians may have their properties taxed, and no individual in Great Britain participate with them in the burden. On the contrary, the members of Parliament would make their court to their constituents most effectually, by multiplying taxes upon the subjects in those Colonies, and lessening those imposed upon them. These surely are cogent reasons for a peculiar tenderness to be observed in laying taxes upon the Colonies, and that rules and orders which might be proper to be observed with regard to the people of England, should be relaxed of their strictness in behalf of the subjects in America. I confess with all due deference for those who thought otherwise, I could have wished to have seen, upon this first instance of Parliament's imposing an internal tax upon the Colonies for the single purpose of the revenue, a precedent established of which the Colonies might avail themselves on any such future occasion, and it is but justice to the gentleman at the head of the Exchequer to inform you, that it was not owing to him that such a precedent was not made. As I have extracted an account of the whole transaction, from the letters written by one of the agents to his constituents,

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and can rely upon his veracity, I will relate it for your and my other friends satisfaction.

When the House of Commons had last year come to the resolution, that it might be proper to charge certain Stamp Duties upon the Colonies, the agents for the Colonies on the Continent understanding that the resolution was conceived in such terms, and the farther proceedings thereon suspended till next session, in order to give the Colonies an opportunity of making propositions in compensation for the revenue that such a tax might be expected to produce, and understanding also, that not a single member of Parliament doubted of the right of Parliament to impose a Stamp Duty, or any other tax upon the Colonies, thought it their duty to wait upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to thank him for his candour and tendernefs to the Colonies, and to ask his opinion of the sort of proposition which would probably be accepted from them to Parliament. That gentleman with great openness and affability told them, he had proposed the resolution in the terms the Parliament had adopted, from a real regard and tendernefs to the people in the Colonies, that it was highly reason-

reasonable they should contribute something towards the charge of protecting themselves, and in aid of the great expence Great Britain put herself to on their account, that no tax appeared to him so easy and equitable as a Stamp Duty ; and what ought particularly to recommend it to the Colonies, was the mode of collecting it, which did not require any number of officers vested with extraordinary powers of entering houses, or in any respect serve to extend a sort of influence which he never wished to increase. He hinted that the Colonies by agreeing to this tax, would have it in their power to establish a precedent for their being consulted before any tax was imposed on them by Parliament, and he recommended it to the agents to represent it properly to their several Colonies, and to advise their respective Councils and Assemblies to take it under their consideration ; and if upon deliberation the Stamp Duty appeared to them an eligible tax, to authorise their agents to declare their approbation of it, which being signified to Parliament next year, when the tax came to be imposed, would afford a forcible argument for the like proceeding in all such cases. He told them farther, that if the Colonies thought

any other mode of taxation more convenient to them, and made any proposition which should carry the appearance of equal efficacy with a Stamp Duty, he would give it all due consideration.

The agents writ immediately to their respective Colonies, and desired instruction for their direction against the next meeting of Parliament. Some of the Colony assemblies thought the advice their agents gave them impertinent, and supposing that obstinacy and strong expressions would have the same effect on the British Parliament, that they found them to have on some American Governors, instead of sending over to their agents discretionary instructions, they framed petitions themselves, positively and directly questioning the authority and jurisdiction of Parliament over the properties of the people in the Colonies, and directed their agents to present them to King, Lords, and Commons. Others, not all, of the assemblies, less violent, gave instructions to their agents to petition Parliament against the tax, and above all things to persist in their petitions on the right and privilege of the Colonies to be exempt from internal taxes imposed by Parliament,

so

so that of the whole number, not a single Colony authorized its agent either to consent to a Stamp Duty or to offer any precise compensation. Indeed two of the Colonies desired the agents to signify their readiness to contribute *their proportion* of that duty by methods of their own ; but when the other agents asked those gentlemen, if they could undertake for any particular sum, they confessed they had no authority to do so. Such of the agents as were left by their constituents to act as their discretion should direct them in opposing this tax, thought the best that could be done for the subjects in America, was for the agents to endeavour at obtaining a precedent for their being heard in behalf of their Colonies against the tax, since their instructions would not permit them to endeavour at establishing one for their consent being obtained. A petition for this purpose was accordingly prepared, in which no expressions tending to question the jurisdiction of Parliament were inserted. But the agents, who had petitions transmitted by their assemblies, did not think themselves at liberty to sign or present any other petition than those of their Colonies, and accordingly they had them offered to the House of Commons which would
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not suffer them to be read, as upon the opening of them by the gentlemen who offered them, they were found to contain expressions questioning the jurisdiction of Parliament. The petition transmitted by one Colony was not indeed offered, for it was conceived in such offensive terms that no member of Parliament would carry it in,

From this candid account, every impartial man must lay it to the charge of the Colonies that a precedent in favour of the subjects in America was not obtained upon this occasion, and should a tax upon the Colonies be proposed hereafter and carried into effect the same Session, the Colonies could scarcely complain of a hardship, as it might with justice be said to them, that when the Parliament did give them an opportunity of transmitting their sentiments, instead of receiving from them any information of their circumstances, they had heard nothing but impeachments of the jurisdiction of Parliament over them.

I have however so good an opinion of the temper and moderation of the Parliament, and such confidence in the candor and paternal re-
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gard which some gentlemen bear to the Colonies that I have no apprehensions, advantage will be taken of the forwardness of their legitimate offspring, but that their dealings towards them will be like those of parents to their truant children, not rigorously just, but forbearing and affectionate. I hope to see this, or some future session of Parliament, close with some resolution which shall carry universal satisfaction to the subjects in the Colonies. I hope to see it declared, that no tax ought to be imposed upon the Colonies the same year in which it is proposed in Parliament, that the representations of the Colonies transmitted to their agents, ought to be received before such tax is imposed, and that the revenue arising from such tax should not be applied to any occasional exigence, but should only be appropriated for the general security and protection of America. I flatter myself something to this purpose will be done, not only for the sake of the Colonies, but for a reason which will probably occur to a British Member of Parliament, and with which he must be more deeply affected.

It is one of the many advantages attending the democratic part of the British Constitution, that in times of public danger or difficulty no man can continue in the Administration who has not ability to conduct the affairs of Government in such a manner as will bear the strictest examination. The greatest difficulty incident to a minister in times of public tranquillity is the raising the supplies for the year, and his overcoming that difficulty with reputation is a good test of his abilities to serve the nation. But if taxes upon the Colonies may be proposed and laid the same session, it will require no great talents to qualify any Member of Parliament for Chancellor of the Exchequer. At every pinch or occasional exigence, when the landed gentlemen are to be eased, or the trading people flattered, a new tax upon the Colonies will be the means proposed, and it will have one great advantage over any tax laid in Great Britain, a most material one to an incapable Minister, that the probable produce of it cannot be known to many gentlemen, and therefore however insufficient it may really be for the purposes for which it is laid, yet the Minister escapes reprehension for that year, and the nation may be deeply injured through his

incapacity before the next meeting of Parliament. That every gentleman who wishes well to his country may convince himself these considerations merit his attention, he will have only to reflect, that had a tax upon the Colonies been proposed instead of the late additional duty upon cyder, perhaps Great Britain would not now have the happiness of seeing the most able, upright, and vigilant Chancellor of the Exchequer that ever served her since the days of Sir Robert Walpole.

No. II.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. GEO. GRENVILLE, to Mr. KNOX, dated Wotton, Sept. 4, 1768.

Dear Sir,

I AM very glad to hear that you have almost got through the tedious business of correcting the press, and that I shall soon have the pleasure of seeing your performance upon the state of the nation complete.

The accounts from America continue uniformly the same, notwithstanding which it is
much

much doubted whether any measure has been or will be formed upon that important subject till the meeting of the Parliament, upon whom the whole I suppose will be thrown. Have you read Mr. Pownall's new edition of the Administration of the Colonies which he has addressed to me? though, as he very truly says, we differ widely in our opinions, particularly as to the doctrine which he endeavours to establish of a different mode of obedience between the subjects *within* this kingdom, and those *without* it. A doctrine very dangerous in its consequences, and which has not the least foundation in our Constitution, nor do I think that the Colonies incorporated in the times of King James I. and King Charles I. and II. stand upon the same footing with the counties Palatine of Chester and Durham, or that our Kings have a right to create such independent principalities, or to exempt them from any part of the jurisdiction of the supreme legislature, whatever might be the case of a newly acquired kingdom under William the Conqueror, notwithstanding which it appears from the preamble to the Acts of Parliament granting the right to send Members to Parliament to Chester and Durham, that in fact they had been

been bound by all the laws passed in the English Parliament, and particularly those of taxation, although the contrary is asserted in the petition cited to have been presented to King Henry VI. in Mr. Pownall's treatise. *Whether it would not be just and reasonable to grant to the Colonies Members of Parliament upon their petition to Parliament, for that purpose, in like manner as was done in the cases of Chester and Durham, is another question which, whenever such an application shall be properly made, will I hope be considered with every favourable disposition which their situation requires or will admit of.*

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most faithful

humble servant,

G. GRENVILLE.

No. III.

Wotton, Aug. 15, 1768.

Dear Sir,

I AM very sorry that I am prevented from seeing you, and talking with you upon the subject of your letter of the 9th of this month, but I sincerely hope that the cause of it will be productive to you of all the happiness you
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can wish. All my books and papers from which I could collect any materials relative to the question of taxing America are in town ; the utmost, therefore, which I can do will be to throw out such general answers as occur to me to the questions you ask.

[These answers are incorporated in my Review of the American Controversy, and make the substance of the arguments contained in it, from page 67 to page 86 inclusive, and therefore I omit them here.]

I have long since writ several letters to some of my friends in America, to the same effect as the words which you have marked in the copy of my letter to you, declaring, that I could never give up the sovereignty and right of taxation which the King and Parliament of Great Britain have over the Colonies : but that I could not go so far as Lord Chatham did by his solemn declaration in full Parliament, in his speech for repealing the Stamp Act, “ that if the Americans should manufacture a lock of wool, or a horse shoe, he would fill their ports with ships, and their towns with troops ;” that such a measure,

carried

carried to such an extent, would in my opinion be the highest degree of violence and oppression, which I declared in the House both when that speech was made and oftentimes since; and that I desired, for the sake both of the Mother Country and of its Colonies, to turn their thoughts to Agriculture, and by that means to prevent their interfering with Great Britain in her manufactures, which I thought would be greatly prejudicial to both. That the wisest and most effectual method of accomplishing this would be to give all possible encouragement to the importation of their raw materials from the Colonies into Great Britain, which would enable the Americans to pay in that manner for a considerable part of the manufactures which they would take from hence, and would at the same time prevent that great balance of trade which is against us upon account of those articles with foreign countries, and particularly with those of the north. That with this view I had proposed several bounties upon those commodities brought from our Colonies when I was in the Treasury, which Parliament had adopted, and that I should be glad to see that measure extended farther till the object could be attained. That
 who

whoever brought private passions into public business was unfit to be concerned in it ; that for my own part, if I had any upon this occasion, I should think every tie of duty called upon me to sacrifice them ; but that I really felt none against the English subjects in America, because I was fully sensible that there was no part of Great Britain, nor of any other country, who under the same circumstances, and with the same encouragement, would not have behaved pretty much in the same manner ; that therefore, whenever I should see the tide turn here, if it should run into any extravagance or unnecessary violence, which might probably be the case from resentment against the Colonies, I should be as much an enemy to such a spirit as I had been to the contrary extreme.

You pressed me so strongly to write to you my thoughts upon these subjects that I would not refuse it, and I have done it much more at length than I intended, which is the necessary consequence of doing it hastily and roughly ; but as that is the case, I trust to your discretion, that you will on no account make any public use of it in my name. If any of the

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arguments or facts strike you, they are at your service, provided you use them only as your own, and as such you may change or omit them in the whole or in part, just as you please.

I am, &c.

GEO. GRENVILLE.

No. IV.

Woolton, Aug. 28, 1768.

Dear Sir,

THE account which you gave to me in your letter of the 23d of this month, of the late transactions at Boston, seems so natural a consequence of the measures taken in Great Britain, and the state and temper of the Government here, that whatever degree of concern it may give me, I cannot feel the least surprize at it. If the eyes of those who are most interested in this most unhappy situation, had been sooner opened to the most obvious truths, many mischiefs might have been prevented; if the authentic proofs which they have now received of what has happened, is
not

not sufficient to convince them, I will venture to foretel without a spirit of prophecy, *greater calamities will, when it is too late, rouse them and the whole kingdom from the lethargy, as to all public measures, into which they have been plunged. I have long feared that the conduct holden in Great Britain, would encourage and delude the subjects of America, till they would come to extremities of one kind, which would too probably end in extremities on the other side.* I may appeal to you as a private man, and as a Member of Parliament, to my public declarations, that my opinions upon this subject have ever been uniformly the same. They will still continue to be so, until I see much better reasons for changing them, than any which I have yet heard. What prospect there can now be that they will be attended with success, I cannot pretend to answer; but if there is no plan formed upon the sound principles of this constitution, supported both by firmness and temper, I can answer, that no good success in the present difficult situation, can arise from one desultory measure after another. The respect and affection of its subjects is the basis on which every wise Government must be

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founded;

founded ; but if that foundation has been once overturned, it is not the work of a day to temper the materials, so as to unite and rebuild them, especially if the workmen shall be daily changed, and each work by a different rule and line from that of his predecessor.

I am, &c.

GEO. GRENVILLE.

No. V.

Woolton, September 15, 1768.

Dear Sir,

I HAVE considered your letter of the 7th of this month with great attention, and the reasons you therein assign for adopting the plan of a requisition to be made of a certain sum upon each of the Colonies, and upon that sum being raised by them, a declaration, that all the present taxes imposed by the Parliament of Great Britain, shall be repealed and no more imposed by them, except in case of refusal of any Colony to furnish its contingent. I agree with you in thinking, that it will be
extremely

extremely difficult, if not impracticable, for the Colonies to apportion a certain sum by a convention of deputies from each Colony. They would, therefore, never do it, and the convention of deputies would quarrel, which would probably be attended with very bad consequences, both to themselves and to us, besides the novelty of such an assembly. The difficulty of assessing the specific sums on each Colony would then fall upon the Parliament, (for God forbid that we should ever give that power to the King without a Parliament) and as the various circumstances of the Colonies would render it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to establish any permanent rate for the several quotas, the consequence would be that none would be established, and no man would think it worth while to make a quarrel with the Colonies for a sum of money ; and when the right of taxation, and consequently that of sovereignty, from which it ever has been and ever must be inseparable, has in effect and in reality been surrendered.

I am, &c.

GEO. GRENVILLE.

No.

No. VI.

Woolton, September 19, 1768.

Dear Sir,

I DO not see the least appearance of any change in the disposition of the people, or of the assemblies in North America, nor is it, indeed, probable, that there should be any in the present situation. Various reports are every day propagated of the intentions of Government, from whence I should think, that no plan is yet settled in this kingdom, whilst a regular system is steadily pursued in the Colonies. We shall soon see whether this is true, and I heartily wish it may be found otherwise, in the mean time to deceive ourselves, or to endeavour to deceive the public upon this important subject, is the weakest as well as the most fatal measure which can be pursued.

I am, &c.

GEO. GRENVILLE.

No.

No. VII.

Woolton, Oct. 9, 1768.

Dear Sir,

I HAVE read over the Papers * which you sent to me, together with your letter of the 11th of this month, with the greatest pleasure. They are written with so much temper and force, with so much knowledge and precision, that I am persuaded they will do you great honour, if ever you shall think fit to avow yourself as the author of them. The general opinions laid down in them, correspond so much with my declared opinions, and are so favourable to the public measures I have pursued, that to express my approbation of them to you, who are *so perfectly acquainted with them both*, must be unnecessary; I will, therefore, only return you my sincere thanks, both as a public man and as a mere individual, for having put them in so clear and advantageous a light; I have not been able to examine all the particulars contained in them, with that

* The State of the Nation.

attention which I will give to them, and which they so well deserve. There are some few little inaccuracies, possibly owing to errors in the press, which I will mention to you when we meet in town; in the mean time, I rejoice to hear, that a work of this national importance, and of this great extent and compass, is likely to be as universally circulated as it deserves, and I am persuaded as universally approved.

I am, &c.

GEO. GRENVILLE.

No. VIII.

Woolton, Oct. 29, 1769.

Dear Sir,

BY a letter which I received lately from America, I am informed, that the demands of our Colonists rise in proportion to the accounts they receive from hence.—I give the more credit to this information, not only as it comes from a very intelligent man, and of rank in the King's service, but also as it comes from one who was of a contrary opinion, and
thought

thought that the spirit which hath been so carefully nursed up from hence was on the decline—God grant that the difficulties which daily augment and encompass us on every side, may not become too great, not only for the Administration, but for the King and kingdom to surmount.

I am, &c.

GEO. GRENVILLE.

No. IX.

Woolton, January 11, 1769.

Dear Sir,

I AM very glad to find by your letter of the 9th of this month which I received last night, that you have almost finished what you are about*. As to the question which you ask me, whether it is safe to blame the proceedings of the late or any former House of Commons, it has been agitated in debate during the present sessions, and it was urged, that in the case of any *virulent* or *outrageous* abuse of the former House of Commons, the subsequent

* The Review of the American Controversy.

House of Commons might censure it. This was strongly denied by many, and there it was left; but I imagine, that those who supported that doctrine, meant to confine that censure to instances of gross and scandalous abuse, for if it be true that the proceedings of former Parliaments are not to be questioned, nor the conduct of former Kings to be blamed, because there might be a libel upon a dead King as well as a living one, (which, if I am not mistaken, was the doctrine laid down by the present *Lord Chancellor* * when Attorney General, in the cause of Dr. Shebbeare) it must follow, that it will be utterly impossible to write any history except a panygeric out of the Gazette, though it will certainly be safer, and I think more effectual, to canvas the conduct and character of a late Parliament or King, in decent and temperate language; at the same time, that the facts and inferences are stated and drawn with the utmost freedom.—This right is essential in the most limited idea of the liberty of the press, and I imagine will scarcely be questioned at present. The other question which you ask is, whether a man may with-

* Lord Camden.

out offence, express the just expectations of the subject from the present House of Commons, that they will by their conduct restore the sinking authority of Parliament, inquire into past misconduct, and punish those who dispute their right, and foment resistance to the laws. This question seems to me to admit of no doubt, for I take it for granted, that it cannot be a crime to write that which every subject has a right in decent and respectful terms to petition the Parliament to do; and no man, I think, can deny that all these are real and serious grievances both upon the King and his people. Though I have answered both your questions in general, you will see that the application of that answer will necessarily depend upon the particular expressions, which, without seeing the whole, it is impossible to give any opinion about. I have heard not a word of what you mention as news in your letter of the second of this month, except, that all my letters from London agree in the same representation of the unsettled and unhappy state of things, and of the divisions which prevail. You are so fully apprized of my general sentiments, that it is unnecessary for me to repeat them, and if I

did, I should not finish this letter soon enough for the post ; I will, therefore, only add, that I shall be in town on the 19th in the morning, being the day fixed for the meeting of the House.

I am, &c.

GEO. GRENVILLE.

No. X.

Charleton, July 19, 1770.

Dear Sir,

I DID not receive your letter of the 6th of this month, until this morning, which was occasioned by its being directed to me near Ailesbury, instead of near Tame in Oxfordshire, which is our post town, and by its not finding me at home, in consequence of which, it was sent after me to this place, where I have been this week upon a visit to Lord Suffolk. If I had received it in time, I should not have delayed till now to have acknowledged it, and to have wished you joy of the situation in which you have engaged. I am very sensible of the obliging expressions contained in it with regard to myself, and should have

have been truly sorry if any consideration, relative to me alone, had prevented you from accepting an offer, which you thought advantageous and honourable to you, and which I am persuaded, no man is more able or more willing to discharge, with industry and fidelity towards the King and his people, in the present distracted state of affairs in America. I shall see with real pleasure, any measure taken, which may contribute to that great object, the importance and consequences of which are, I fear, not yet sufficiently felt, and therefore, I told you, when I saw you, I despaired of any thing being done, in which opinion I am still more confirmed by the accounts which I have lately received from London. I am much obliged to Lord Hillsborough, for the justice which you say he does to me, and which I shall be always desirous and ready to return. I shall leave this place to-morrow, and shall get to Woolton. I very sincerely wish you more comfort and satisfaction than my own mind can promise to any man, who is to sail in the present stormy weather, without a compass to guide him in the troubled sea,

sea, in which you are embarked, and am, very truly, dear Sir,

Your most faithful and obedient servant,

GEO. GRENVILLE.

No. XI.

*Project of a permanent Union and Settlement
with the Colonies.*

THE cement that unites the Colonies against Great Britain, is their common aversion to taxation by Parliament. State chicane or lawyers craft will not do with the Colonies, they have lost all confidence in the integrity of Parliament, and until confidence is restored, treaty is impossible. Parliament must therefore endeavour to beget confidence by putting it out of its own power to deceive. The line by which the exercise of its authority in point of taxation over the Colonies is to be limited, must be clearly drawn and defined in an act of Parliament, and the conditions to which the Colonies are to submit fully expressed. The Colonies have a right to this, for their condition is not similar to that of a foreign state treating with us. Whatever be the terms we may give them,
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they can have no security for our adherence, but our own good faith ; for if they return to their allegiance upon any terms, they will put themselves wholly in our power, and cannot compel the performance of the treaty, whereas a foreign State after a treaty is in the same condition as before, and equally capable of compelling a performance of the terms. We ought to treat with the Colonies in the same manner as a man treats with a woman he intends to marry : it is but fit he should declare what her condition is to be when she becomes his wife before she marries, for when she is married she cannot alter it. The Colonies know their strength consists in their union, and that union is not likely to subsist if they come to treat. They cannot, therefore, be blamed for avoiding a treaty so long as they are in doubt what terms will be offered. They cannot, indeed, compel us to the performance of *any* terms when they have once submitted, but they may justly think, that to whatever terms the public faith shall be solemnly pledged in an act of Parliament as a preliminary to a treaty, the honour and probity of the English nation will compel an adherence on the part of Government. It being our interest

to bring the Colonies to treat, we ought to take the pains to remove their objections to treating, and this I apprehend would be done, if an act were passed to the purport and effect following: viz,

Whereas it is both just and reasonable that all British subjects who partake of the advantages of this free Constitution, should contribute in proportion to their ability to the public charge necessarily incurred for the general safety and happiness.

And whereas the charge of maintaining a fleet and army, and providing ordnance and military stores, together with the expence of such parts of the civil Administration as equally respect the whole empire, has amounted in times of peace to the sum of four millions, exclusive of the establishments maintained by Ireland.

And whereas the number of inhabitants in Great Britain is computed to amount to eight millions, and the number of inhabitants in the British provinces on the coast of the Atlantic in North America, is computed to amount to

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two millions and an half, and therefore the just proportion of the aforesaid sum of four millions to be contributed by the said provinces; appears to be $\frac{5}{16}$ ths, or 1,250,000, more especially, as besides the sum of 2,750,000 which would still remain to be raised by the inhabitants of Great Britain as their proportion of the aforesaid sum of four millions, the said inhabitants must continue to be charged with the whole public debt, the principal of which amounts to , and the annual charge for the interest thereof, amounts to nearly the sum of , although great part of the said debt was incurred in carrying on the two last wars, the chief objects of which were the defence and protection of the British provinces in America, and the security of their commerce. Nevertheless, as it has ever been the desire of Parliament to promote the prosperity and happiness of the inhabitants of the said provinces in common with that of their fellow subjects in Great Britain, and because very great advantages are derived to the inhabitants of Great Britain from their exclusive commerce with the said provinces, which commerce it is intended shall always remain confined to Great Britain as

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heretofore, or carried on under such regulations and restraints as Parliament shall impose; therefore, instead of the aforementioned sum of 1,250,000, with which the said provinces might in justice be charged as their fair proportion of the sum of four millions which appears to be the amount of the ordinary expenses of Government in times of peace, exclusive of the charge for interest of the public debt, it is proposed that the sum to be contributed by the provinces shall be no more than eight per cent. of the rated value of all commodities exported from the same in every year. The amount of which contribution, according to the rated value of the exports from all the said provinces in the highest years in times past, cannot be computed to exceed the sum of 300,000 per annum for several years to come, which is not 1-13th part of the aforesaid charge of four millions, and cannot increase but with the prosperity and riches of each province. Wherefore be it enacted, that when the General Court or General Assembly of any of the provinces aforesaid shall pass an act or acts, and the same shall be approved by his Majesty, his heirs and successors, for raising a sum of money equal to eight per cent. of

of the rated value of all the commodities exported from the said province in the year 1763, to be disposed of by Parliament; and shall also declare on behalf of themselves and all future General Courts or General Assemblies, that they will continue to grant and raise in every future year, unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors for ever, to be disposed of by Parliament, such sum or sums of money as shall amount to eight per cent. of the rated value of all commodities exported from the said province in the year next preceding respectively. That then and from thenceforth, all duties and taxes imposed in the said province by any act or acts of Parliament upon any commodity imported into the said province (except such duties or taxes as are charged upon commodities of foreign growth or manufacture) shall cease and determine. And be it further enacted, that the produce of all duties and taxes imposed by any act or acts of Parliament now of force, upon any commodity of foreign growth or manufacture imported into the said province, or upon any commodity the product of the said province, exported out of the said province, shall be paid over and accounted for to the General Court or General Assembly

of the said province. And be it further enacted, that the produce of all duties or taxes which may hereafter be imposed by any act or acts of Parliament upon any commodity imported into or exported out of the said province, shall be paid over and accounted for to the General Court or General Assembly of the said province.

But in order to secure to the public the constant and regular grant and payment of the contribution before mentioned, and that good and sufficient funds may be provided and charged with the payment thereof, be it farther enacted, that if it shall so happen that any General Court or General Assembly of any province, after passing an act or acts for the purpose aforesaid, shall for the space of one whole year neglect or refuse to continue to make such grant, or to make good any deficiency of the funds assigned for the payment of the sum granted in any former year, that then and from henceforth a duty or tax of eight per cent. of the rated value of all commodities exported out of the said province shall commence upon all commodities exported out of the same, which tax or duty shall

shall continue to be charged and levied upon all commodities exported until the General Court or General Assembly shall make such grant and provision, and make good such deficiency as aforesaid, and shall then cease to be levied or charged ; any thing contained in any former act or acts to the contrary notwithstanding. And be it farther enacted, that from and after the passing of such act or acts as aforesaid, by any General Court or General Assembly of any of the aforesaid provinces, and his Majesty's approbation thereof, the act of his present Majesty, intituled, &c. (The Tea Act) shall be, and is hereby declared to be repealed in respect to such province ; any thing contained in the said act to the contrary notwithstanding.

No. XII.

Intercourse between Great Britain and the United States.

The order of council for opening a trade between Great Britain and the United States having only directed, that it shall be carried on upon the same foot as when they were considered

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dered as British Colonies, it is proper to inquire how far that measure is adapted to their present condition, and will serve the purpose of securing to us the advantages of their trade.

As Colonies, they were restrained from importing any foreign manufacture except from Great Britain, and from exporting in most cases any of their products except to Great Britain, and Parliament, desirous of drawing some revenue from them, continued part of the duties paid upon the importation of foreign manufactures into Great Britain upon their re-exportation to the Colonies. It [also retained a part of the duties paid upon the importation of certain of the American products upon their re-exportation to foreign countries. These duties in both cases are continued by the order of Council, but it ought to have been considered that the United States can *now* import all foreign manufactures directly from the places where they are made without coming through Great Britain, and that they can *now* send all their products to every foreign market without touching here, consequently these duties will operate as an obstruction to their coming here
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either to purchase foreign goods or sell to foreign markets; and it being our interest that this country should continue to be as it was heretofore, their common mart for all commodities, the duties which remain upon re-exportation in both cases ought to be taken off. By the act of the 4th of his present Majesty the old subsidy duty, which is 5 per cent. of the rated value, is retained upon all foreign goods except white calicoes and muslins exported to the Colonies, and by the same act a duty of three shillings per piece is laid upon all French lawns and cambrics. There are besides a variety of duties upon East India goods and also upon certain of our own manufactures exported to the Colonies, all of which being retained upon exportation to the United States, will be an incitement to them to purchase them or similar goods from other countries. But to proceed surely and regularly in doing this, I would recommend that orders be sent to the commissioners of the customs and excise to report what duties and excises are charged or remain undrawn back upon foreign and British goods exported to the Colonies. In the mean time, we should proceed without delay to take off the duties which remain upon the re-exportation

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tion of their rice and tobacco. It is of vast importance to Great Britain that this country should continue to be the mart for both these commodities. The rice exported from Carolina and Georgia before the war amounted to 30,000 tons, and the freight was more than half the first cost. Near 20,000 tons of this was brought to Great Britain though, not more than 1500 was consumed here and in Ireland, all the rest was sold to foreign agents and re-exported to Holland and different ports in the German ocean and the Baltic Sea, and the value remitted here. The rice being too heavy to be put between decks, the owners took in indigo and deer skins at a low freight to fill the ship up with, and the same reason will always operate to attach those commodities to the rice, and if we have it we shall have them. The people of Carolina and Georgia will still have inducements to send us their rice as to a general mart for the north of Europe, if we do not by our duties force them from us, as they cannot so well know in America as here, where the best price will be given, and so many might send to the same port, that some markets would be overstocked and others without a supply. The payment too would be more tedious and

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precarious, and they could not avail themselves of the credit of their factors to procure supplies of negroes and necessaries in the mean time. Our merchants send them supplies before their crops are reaped upon the credit of them, and they are well paid for their advance by a double commission, besides interest, on both what they send and what they receive in payment. The duty which remains undrawn back upon rice re-exported is $7\frac{1}{2}$ d per cent. to which is to be added the thrice five per cent. which has lately been laid upon all duties ; the whole should therefore be immediately taken off by Act of Parliament.

The same as has been stated respecting rice, may be applied to tobacco with this difference, that the quantity of tobacco is much larger and the value much greater, and consequently that the retaining the trade in it is an object of still greater importance to our commerce and navigation than the rice ; it behoves us to lose no time in this business, for as the ships which carry out our goods could not bring back one sixth of either their rice or tobacco, they must order light ships to come for the other five sixths, and if they are not informed that

our duties are taken off, they will send to Holland for ships, and send their products there for a market ; the consequence of which will be, not only the loss of freight to our shipping, but a connection will arise between them and the Dutch, who can supply them with negroes, and, when they feel the advantages of the commission, will give them credit to secure their custom.

No. XIII.

Intercourse between the British Colonies and the United States.

IN the consideration of what intercourse should be permitted between the British Colonies and the United States, it is necessary to include that of the regulations under which the trade between the British Colonies in North America, and the West Indies is carried on.

Our West India islands draw from North America supplies of salted beef, and pork, and fish, flour, biscuit, Indian corn, rice, peas, live cattle, sheep and horses, naval stores, timber of all denominations, generally called lumber, and they send them in return, sugar, rum,
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molasses, coffee, at a duty of seven shillings per cwt. and pimento at one penny per pound, and cotton free of duty. The continental Colonies are permitted to bring from the foreign islands, Muscovada sugar, upon paying a duty at importation of five shillings per cwt. molasses at one penny per gallon, white sugars twenty-seven shillings per cwt. coffee three pound per cwt. indigo sixpence per pound. As the law now stands, our West India islands will have the preference of the consumption of our North American Colonies for their sugars, molasses, indigo, and coffee; and the North American Colonies will have our West India islands exclusively to supply with lumber and provisions of American produce, and if they do not like the price, may carry them to the foreign islands. If our North American Colonies were able to supply all the wants of our islands, as our islands can supply them with what they want of West India products, the line would be easy to draw; for it would only be necessary to confine their trade reciprocally to each other; but our North American Colonies in their present state cannot supply our islands, and therefore the United States must *for the present* be called in to their assistance,

and the islands must be permitted to pay them in their products. But whatever permissions of this kind are given it should be remembered, that the object of this country is to *exclude the communication of foreigners with our Colonies*, and that whenever our North American Colonies shall be in a condition to supply our islands wholly, the interference of foreigners is to be prevented. The intercourse, therefore, which it may be proper to permit between our Colonies and the United States, should not be a stipulation of treaty, but a mere permission or indulgence without condition or equivalent. Our islands can be amply supplied with salted fish from Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, and Ireland and Scotland will continue to assist them with herrings. Fish should therefore not be permitted to be brought but in British vessels, and by British subjects from British ports. Salted beef can be had from Ireland, and salted pork also, though not so cheap as formerly from North America ; but at present the United States have little to spare, so that excluding them will be no material injury to our islands, and it will encourage the raising cattle and hogs in Nova Scotia and Canada, live cattle, and sheep and hogs and horses must
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for the present be suffered to be brought from the United States. Flour, biscuit, Indian corn, rice, potatoes and peas, must likewise be allowed. Lumber must also be allowed, until Nova Scotia and Canada have provided sufficient quantities, and to encourage them to do so, the restraint upon their exportation to foreign markets should be taken off.

Before the war, Canada exported large quantities of flour and wheat, and if the Vermont people are encouraged to bring them down Lake Champlain, very considerable supplies may speedily be drawn from thence. Pitch, tar, and turpentine are not to be had from Canada or Nova Scotia, they must, therefore, be allowed to be brought from the United States; and Cypress boards and shingles from the Southern States.

As our islands must be permitted to draw various supplies from the United States, if they be not permitted to pay for them in their products, it will be the occasion of draining them of all their specie money, which would be laid out at the foreign islands. Indeed, this will be a good deal the case, even when they
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are permitted to purchase our products, as our Planters demand higher prices than the French or Danes ; and the only remedy is, *to confine the trade to our own subjects and our own Colonies, whenever it can properly be done.* But to do the best we can at present, the duties upon British island coffee imported into our own Colonies in North America, should be taken off, or otherwise, our Colonies there will supply themselves clandestinely with foreign, through the United States, who will have it free of all duty.

To encourage the distilleries in Nova Scotia and Quebec, and the breweries of Spruce beer, there and at Newfoundland, and enable them to sell their spirits as cheap as the Boston distillers, it will be proper to take off the one penny per gallon duty on foreign molasses, our own islands furnishing but an inconsiderable quantity,

The United States having permission to fish in all the bays and rivers of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, great opportunity will be afforded them of supplying our fishermen with their rum ; and indeed, with all foreign
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commodities, which are cheaper than ours; the utmost vigilance in our cruizers will, therefore, be necessary to prevent any dealings between our fishing ships and theirs; but smuggling is far from the greatest of the evils, which that article of the treaty is calculated to bring upon us, as will appear from what I have stated in the paper respecting the Newfoundland fishery.

No. XIV.

New Establishments for the American Loyalists.

THE British dominions on the continent of America, being reduced to Nova Scotia and a strip of Canada; it is matter of the most serious consideration, how the country we possess, may be rendered most advantageous to this nation, and retained as an appendage of it. Sad experience may have taught us, that without the latter consideration is made the chief object of our plans, our success in the former will be but precarious and temporary. The *permanency* of their connection with this country should, therefore, be the ground of every measure respecting our Colonies. The
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advantage to be derived from them should be the second object of our attention, and their prosperity to be encouraged only so far as it may consist with those two; for it would be much better to have no Colonies at all, than not to have them permanently connected with this country, and subservient to the increase of its maritime strength and commercial prosperity. Upon these principles, the constitutions or political regulations of the Colonies ought to be founded, and the greatest care and attention ought to be taken to frame them properly, for the records of the Board of Trade cannot be used as precedents; the leading motives of all our ancient settlements having been the increase of our commerce only, without any attention to their permanent connection with this country. It should, indeed, seem from the New-England Colonies Charters, that the Ministers who framed them, so far from intending to retain those Colonies in a dependence on England, meant them as receptacles of all subjects who were or should be discontented with the constitution of this country, and wished to withdraw themselves from it. If they had no farther views in planting those Colonies, their policy was shallow and selfish,

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ish, and if they looked forward at all to futurity, they wanted wisdom to secure the advantages they intended to confer upon it. But we who have seen the consequences of their negligence or weakness, would be infinitely more culpable if we did not profit by our experience, and correct, in the constitutions of those Colonies which remain to us, those vices which were interwoven or sprung up from the constitution of those which have revolted, and occasioned their separation from us. One would think it was no difficult matter to foresee that dissimilarity in religion would naturally produce difference of sentiments respecting political liberty, and that without episcopacy or a clergy, consisting of different orders, and independent of the laity, both in the exercise of their functions, and for their subsistence, monarchy would not thrive. All religions and sects were, however, fully tolerated in New-England, except the Roman Catholic and the national church, the only two which are governed by an Hierarchy. To correct this capital error, let us begin *by establishing the church of England in all its forms*, and granting a full toleration to the Roman Catholic.

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tholic. This will be the most effectual means of excluding Republicans, and drawing the Episcopalians out of the Revolted Colonies into our own, and establishing an everlasting barrier between them.* The whole country should be divided into parishes, and glebe lands set apart in every parish, and allotments made for schoolmasters also; the presentation to all benefices to be in the Governor, but the visitation, discipline, and suspension to be in the Bishop; the final removal in the Governor and Council. The lands to be granted subject to a quit rent, but the Governor authorized to declare, that as soon as the Legislature shall grant a permanent reve-

* The succeeding administration, instead of pursuing this plan with proper earnestness, suffered the Americans to get the start of them, by forming an Episcopal church upon the model of the Church of England, and even generously assisted them to counteract one great object of the plan, viz. The inciting the Episcopalians who, except the Roman Catholics, are the only friends to monarchy in all America, to remove into the British territories for the sake of living under the establishment of that church, by passing an act for consecrating three Bishops for those States, *many months before they sent out the solitary one to Nova Scotia*; and several of the emigrants, upon hearing what had been done, have actually gone back from Nova Scotia to the United States.

nue for the support of Government, the produce of the quit rents will be given to be disposed of by them; but in the mean time, grants to all Loyalists to be discharged of quit rents for ten years.

Still further, to prevent the admission of Independents, it should be required of every person applying for land in any of the Colonies, that he come before the Governor and Council, and make and subscribe a declaration in the following words: “ I do promise and
 “ declare, that I will maintain and defend the
 “ authority of the King in his Parliament, as
 “ the supreme Legislature of this Province
 “ in all cases, taxation excepted.”* And it should be inserted as a condition in the grant, that all inhabitants who may come to the possession of any part of the lands contained in it, whether by purchase or inheritance (except infants) should make and subscribe the same declaration before a justice of the peace, within twelve months after coming into possession, and should register it in the Secretaries office,

* The Parliament has declared by an act, that it will not impose any taxes in the Colonies.

on pain of forfeiture of the lands to the Crown. There is nothing in the *present constitution* of Canada, that would obstruct these regulations, nor would there be any great difficulty in introducing them into Nova Scotia; and a new province may, with much convenience and advantage, be formed out of the latter, as it now stands bounded by Canada and the United States. The Bay of Funday, and the Bay Verté, almost divide it into two parts, and render the communication by land, between that part which lies to the west of those Bays, with Halifax, extremely difficult. I would, therefore, propose to draw a line across the Isthmus, leaving the country to the east of it, and the island of Cape Breton as the Province of Nova Scotia, and erect the country from the river St. Croix, to the Gulph of St. Lawrence, and from the Line across the Isthmus to the Line of Canada, into a new province, placing the seat of Government on the river St. John. No very considerable expence would attend this measure, as I presume the civil offices would be given to such distinguished Loyalists, as have allowances from this country, and as the lands
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would increase in value much sooner, and the settlement proceed much more rapidly, because of the proximity of the seat of Government, than if the country continued a part of Nova Scotia ; great numbers of Loyalists from the Northern States would take grants of lands there, as some compensation for the loss of their estates in the Revolted Provinces, and as the same quit rent should be reserved as is reserved in Nova Scotia, a revenue would arise in a few years equal to the charge of the Government. The establishment of a military post at St. Croix, as a frontier to the United States, which must take place, will naturally draw inhabitants to settle under its protection. They will require a port of entry and clearance, and courts of justice ; and in a little time, a separate Government will be found necessary ; but the constitution must then be framed to the palates of the inhabitants, who from living so long without Government, will have lost their loyalty and become republicans, and rather disposed to connect with the United States, than continue dependent on Great Britain. The country is now without inhabitants, those who will go there immediately, will be loyal and abhorers of Republicanism.

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They will gladly receive a Constitution calculated to cherish monarchical principles, and to repress republican ideas, and of a tendency to bind them to Great Britain; and it will be the fault of Administration if such a Constitution be not established, as will render their union with this country happy and permanent. Where so much good may arise from the adoption of this proposition, and so much evil may follow from neglecting it, a small difference in expence ought not to sway the judgement to decide against it.

No. XV.

THE best provision in our power having been made for the accommodation of the Loyalists of the northern States, it is equally necessary to shew attention to those of the southern, especially to those unfortunate people who have fixed their residence in East Florida, from whence they must again remove.

The only territory in the British possession that can accommodate them is the Bahama Islands. The climate and culture they are used to, and are such as their
negroes

negroes can be advantageously employed in ; and it is of great importance to the safety of our trading ships from Jamaica, the Bay of Honduras, and even from the Leeward Islands, that those islands should remain to Great Britain, and unless they are inhabited by such a number of loyal subjects as may be able to resist any sudden attack, before succour can arrive from Europe, they must fall into the hands of the United States or the Spaniards, when any dispute happens with either.

The soil of these islands has never been vested in the Crown, but remains the property of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, to whom it was originally granted. An agreement was made with them half a century ago, but the purchase money, 8000l. was never paid, nor the deeds executed. The purchase should now be made and confirmed by an Act of Parliament, and the vacant lands, of which there is a large quantity parcelled out amongst the southern Loyalists, subject to a reasonable quit rent. Exuma Sound, which is a safe and capacious harbour, has a sufficient depth of water for ships of the line to ride in, which is a circumstance of infinite importance both for
offence

offence to our enemies and protection to our own commerce ; for it is to be considered that we have not now a single British port between St. Christopher's and Nova Scotia, to give protection to a disabled or separated West India ship, to receive a captured enemy, or to be a station for a cruiser. Exuma ought therefore to be immediately put in a condition suitable to those purposes.

No. XVI,

*At the COURT of ST. JAMES's the 2d of
July, 1783.*

P R E S E N T,

*The King's MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
in COUNCIL.*

WHEREAS by an Act of Parliament passed this session, intituled, “ An Act for preventing certain instruments from being required from ships belonging to the United States of America, and to give to his Majesty, for a limited time, certain powers, for the better carrying on trade and commerce
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between the subjects of his Majesty's dominions and the inhabitants of the said United States." It is amongst other things enacted, that during the continuance of the said Act, it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty in Council, by order or orders to be issued and published from time to time, to give such directions and to make such regulations with respect to duties, drawbacks or otherwise, for carrying on the trade and commerce between the people and territories belonging to the Crown of Great Britain, and the people and territories of the United States, as to his Majesty in Council shall appear most expedient and salutary, any law, usage, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding; his Majesty doth therefore, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, hereby order and direct, that pitch, tar, turpentine, hemp, and flax, masts, yards and bowsprits, staves heading, timber, boards, shingles, and all other species of lumber; horses, neat cattle, sheep, hogs, poultry, and all other species of live stock and live provisions; peas, beans, potatoes, wheat, flour, bread, biscuit, rice, oats, barley, and all other species of grain, being the growth or production of any of the United States of

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America,

America, may (until further orders) be imported by British subjects in British built ships, owned by his Majesty's subjects, and navigated according to law, from any port of the United States of America, to any of his Majesty's West India islands; and that rum, sugar, melasses, coffee, cocoa-nuts, ginger, and pimento, may (until further orders) be exported by British subjects in British built ships, owned by his Majesty's subjects, and navigated according to law, from any of his Majesty's West India islands, to any port or place within the said United States, upon payment of the same duties on exportation, and subject to the like rules, regulations, securities, and restrictions, as the same articles by law are, or may be subject and liable to, if exported to any British Colony or Plantation in America; and the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, and Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, are to give the necessary directions herein, as to them may respectively appertain.

No. XVII.

*Copy of a Letter from Lord SACKVILLE to
Mr. KNOX.*

Stoneland Lodge, July 4, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

I AM happy in hearing that your plan is adopted, and that the trade between the Islands and the States is put upon the best footing that the present circumstances would admit. *Was it ignorance or treachery that induced the late Ministers to act as they did in whatever related to the commercial interest of this country?* I did not expect that the Cabinet would have proceeded with so much firmness and vigour in preferring the interest of Great Britain to that of America, supported by the West India planters. I am persuaded that whatever the inclinations of the Ministers might have been, they would not have known how to proceed had you not lent them your assistance; what you propose for Canada strikes me to be right, provided you mean to keep that province. Lord Shelburne plainly intended it should be

given up, or he would not have permitted Mr. Oswald to have settled such a boundary. Go on and do us all the good you can, and may every body be as sensible of your merit as I am, is the sincere wish of,

Your faithful,

humble servant,

SACKVILLE.

No. XVIII.

Extract from the Minutes of the Lords of the Committee of Council for Trade. March 18, 1784.

MR. KNOX attending, was called in and desired to give their Lordships any information falling within his knowledge, relating to the subject under consideration, and first as to the time when it might be expected that supplies for the West India islands might be derived from Canada and Nova Scotia, and the mode of conveyance.

Mr. Knox said, *he had been the person who had suggested the regulations contained in the orders in Council respecting American trade, and*
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had been employed in framing the several orders ; that the objections which were urged on behalf of the West India merchants had been all stated to him, and had been fully considered prior to the issuing the order respecting the trade between the West India islands and the United States.

That it had been foreseen that some immediate difficulty might arise from want of the supplies which had been in course of coming down, that the war had interrupted them, but they had found means to get some supplies by prizes, and others from this country ; that the great point of consideration at *that* time (when the order was made) was, *whether the supplies proper to be allowed from the United States, should be brought in American ships, or confined to ships belonging to Great Britain.* The articles intended to be permitted to be brought from the United States were, *such as this country or Ireland could not then supply ;* and the remaining Colonies in North America were not *then* in a condition to supply. It was not judged necessary to allow the import of them into the West India islands *in ships belonging to the United States,* nor was it apprehended there would

would be any difficulty in obtaining the supplies in *ships belonging to Great Britain*. The southern States were then almost entirely without shipping of their own. Georgia and Carolina had been both in our possession, and upon their evacuation no ships could be supposed to be left to the inhabitants. The shipping belonging to Virginia and Maryland had been almost entirely destroyed by the expedition to the Chesapeake; the same had happened to the shipping belonging to Pennsylvania in the Delaware; and New York and the Jerseys would certainly be left in the same situation, when New York should be evacuated by the King's troops. The New England States, therefore, were the only parts of the United States which were possessed of shipping, it could not therefore be supposed that the southern States would *refuse to sell lumber and provisions to British ships*, because the ships belonging to the New England States were not permitted to carry them. If, however, from any *sudden resentment* of the restraint of their ships, they should form some association to refuse to sell to the British ships, the owners of the British ships in the American seas were much in the habit of having double registers,
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and would probably qualify themselves as ships belonging to Americans, by having owners resident in those States. There were other methods also of acquiring those supplies, which it was expected would be put in practice, if any difficulty arose of obtaining the supplies the direct way. They could be obtained through the foreign islands, as they had been during the war ; and as by the former order in Council, American ships were permitted to bring the unmanufactured produce of the United States to Great Britain, it would be very easy for any ship that intended to take a cargo to the West India islands, to clear out for Great Britain ; and as there was neither bond nor penalty to oblige her to perform the voyage according to her declaration, no inconvenience could follow from her altering her voyage, and going to the West India islands.

On the other hand, *the injury to the navigation of this country* was apprehended to be so great from permitting *American ships to come to our West India islands*, that it was thought highly improper to allow it, rather than risk some small inconvenience to the islands by the restraint.

straint. The number of the ships which, according to the Custom House returns, annually sailed from North America to the West Indies (Foreign and British taken together) were about 700 sail of topfail vessels, and from 1500 to 1600 sloops, the quantity of tonnage about 112,000 ton, but the number of sloops was not so great as the Custom House accounts state it, by two thirds, as several made three voyages in the year, but the tonnage employed in the trade is precisely the same. Upon the question, whether the same rule held with respect to the topfail vessels? It was answered, that it does not to the same extent. Being asked whether an English ship having an American register, makes the same considered as an American ship; or whether a certain proportion of American sailors is not also required? It was answered, they have never inquired into the hands by which the vessel is navigated. He said, that from the quantity of tonnage, the number of seamen may be computed, the usual allowance being one man to every 12 ton, which would give about 9000 seamen for the navigation of the whole number of these ships, as stated in the Custom House accounts, that the proportion was greater in small vessels

vessels than in large ; but two thirds being deducted from the number of sloops, the number of seamen will be considerably less.

That it appears that the number of topfail vessels that have arrived from the West India islands in North America has been nearly the same with the number, which have sailed from thence for the West India islands.

The course of the trade with the West India islands is as follows : The principal British merchants are concerned with houses in the West Indies to whom they send their ships, which carry out goods from hence, and who provide cargoes of the West India produce to load them home. These ships are called *stationed* ships, and seldom or ever vary their course ; but there are many others who go to the West Indies to look for freight, and are called *seekers*, in contradistinction to the stationed ships. When we exported grain to Portugal and the southern parts of Europe, Madeira, and the African islands, many of the ships which carried the same, when they had left their cargoes of grain, went on to the West Indies to look for freight. The ships also which arrived

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ved there from the coast of Africa with negroes wanted freight home. It often happened that freight was not to be had when these ships arrived, the merchants to whom the ships were consigned, not being prepared to load them ; therefore to save expence and preserve the ships from being eaten by the worms in the West Indian seas, or to avoid the hurricanes in that season of the year, they took on board as much rum, molasses, and sugar, as would pay for a cargo of lumber and provisions in North America, with which they returned in time to receive a cargo for Europe ; or if they were not certain of that, and they found a freight in North America for Europe, they took it from thence. This trade would be almost entirely prevented by permitting the Americans to bring their lumber and provisions down in their own shipping, and consequently so much *injury would arise to the West India trade* by cutting off this resource from the *seekers*, which might prevent so many of them going out to bring home their produce, which would occasion great loss and distress to the small planters.

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Mr. Knox being asked his opinion, whether the 700 topfail vessels, stated by him as carrying on the trade between the West India islands and the United States, are in general ships, which belong to the subjects of Great Britain, resident in Great Britain? replied, that at the time he spoke of no distinction was made between ships belonging to subjects of Great Britain generally, or subjects resident in Great Britain; but *he believes many of them to be ships employed by subjects resident in Great Britain.*

Being asked, whether the trade for freight was carried on to profit, between the West Indies and North America, as he stated it? said, it was *relatively* profitable by giving employment to ships, which would have been otherwise unemployed, but it would not have been so abstractedly.

Being asked, whether the ships to which he alludes, were employed in the general trade of the country, or confined to that carried on between America and the West Indies? believes many of them were employed in the general trade of this country.

Bieng asked, whether he imagines, that if liberty was given to the United States to import their lumber into the West Indies in *their own ships*, it would diminish the navigation of Great Britain? *Supposes it would very much, especially as the United States would probably make navigation laws in their own favour.*

Being asked, whether the ships which he had stated to arrive sometimes in the islands before the crops of sugar were ready, and the merchants prepared to load them, if they had not made the intermediate voyage to America, would not, while waiting for their loading, have laid upon *demurrage*? replied, they *certainly would if chartered*; but if *seekers*, they *would have lain at the owners expence.*

Being asked, if he does not apprehend that the North Americans would make use of the same artifice to get their vessels registered in our islands, in order to cover the property of them, that he supposes we may do with respect to our vessels in the ports of the United States? said, he apprehended so, if Government did not take measures to prevent them. Is of opinion that if the *restriction had not, been laid upon*

upon American shipping, the southern States having no shipping of their own, would probably have lent their flag to French, Dutch, and Danish ships; by which the trade would have been carried on, and it would have been an inducement to the traders of those nations to have formed connections with the subjects of the United States, highly prejudicial to the trade of this country.

Being asked, whether he does not think that if British vessels were prevented from trading between the West India islands, and the ports of the United States, and we should be forced to take our supplies from the foreign islands, we should not suffer nearly as much in our navigation, as if we opened our West India ports to the ships of the United States? replied, he apprehends we should *for the present*, but that the consequences would not be *ultimately* so prejudicial. Is of opinion, that there remains to Great Britain in North America, *a sufficient country to supply the West Indies with almost every article which is now permitted to be brought from the United States, and when that country is brought to a state of maturity, those articles may*
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be had cheaper from thence, than they could have been through the intervention of the foreign islands.

The question being asked, in case the United States should shut their ports to British vessels, does he apprehend it to be possible, by opening some free port nearer to the United States than the foreign islands, to secure the trade of provisions and lumber to the subjects of Great Britain? replied, *he has not the least doubt of it; for whatever may be their intention, either as separate States, or as united under the congress, the coercive power of their Governments is so feeble, and the general interests of the inhabitants so directly against such a restraint, that he does not apprehend it would be possible to prevent vessels coming to such free port, if the same lay convenient. We have seen, that during the bitterness of the war, when they had much more coercive force, and the whole country was in arms against Great Britain, even then they could not restrain vessels from coming with supplies to our islands. They will have a strong impulse from the circumstance of our settlements in Nova Scotia to supply us, and prevent our*

confining our resort for supplies entirely to Nova Scotia and Canada. The northern States are exceedingly jealous of our settlements upon the river St. John, from whence we may draw supplies of lumber sufficient for our West India islands for many years; and in regard to Canada, it has already recovered so much from the devastations of the war, that in the last year that province sent down supplies of beef and mutton to Newfoundland at the rate of two pence per pound, and also bread baked at Quebec, the quantity as much as they wanted, and promised that this year they would supply them in much larger quantity, and at cheaper rate. There came two North American ships with goods and provisions to Newfoundland, and Colonel Pringle, commandant at that time, refused to let them deliver their cargoes, and he received the thanks of the trading part of the inhabitants for so doing.

The question being asked, supposing the United States should, in resentment for this restriction prohibit, or lay high duties upon British manufactures imported into the countries

tries belonging to the said States, does he apprehend they could enforce such prohibition, to the material detriment of this country? *Does not apprehend they could by any means enforce such prohibition, if inclined to do it ;* for notwithstanding the refusal of their vessels to trade to our West India islands has been universally known through all the United States, the orders from thence for our manufactures are at this time greater than at any period of the former peace. And if they were inclined to enforce it, does not imagine *they could find means. They were not able to do it in the height of the war.* The United States have now but little trade with any other nation of Europe, who have all refused to send them out more goods ; the underwriters say, there are no more ships going from Holland or France, and those which have gone lately, had supercargoes with orders to dispose of their cargoes, only for value to be paid immediately, which not being able to find, some returned without breaking bulk. Being asked his opinion as to the effect of opening a free port, said, that a free port in the neighbourhood would certainly facilitate the introduction of supplies. And upon the question, what port or ports it might be
 most

most advisable to open ? replied, an island that is without produce of its own, and well circumstanced in respect to local situation and harbour, conceives no *utility whatever in opening a free port in Nova Scotia*. In the first place, it lies very much out of the way of the trade between the West India islands and those American States from whence we could wish to bring the produce. The articles that might be brought from the United States near to such free port, would certainly *interfere very much with the produce and cultivation of that country which we wish to promote*. A free port upon a continent could not be guarded in the same manner as upon an island, and it would be the means of introducing through the ports of the United States *such foreign produce and manufactures as would come cheaper than those of the British dominions*. Is of opinion, that it would not be advantageous to encourage settlement, and the cutting lumber in the province of Maine, by the subjects of the United States, by opening a free port for the reception of it in Nova Scotia. Being asked his opinion as to the distress the islands are said to labour under, for want of supply of lumber ? apprehends, that the *distress will be very temporary,*

L rary,

rare, several saw mills being already erected in Nova Scotia, and preparations made for supplying lumber from thence. Does not know, whether the islands have received their supplies for this year. Being asked by what means the French islands were supplied? said, they were supplied in great part from the wine casks sent out, which are easily converted into casks for sugar; that the French islands grow much better timber for building, than can be had from America. The consumption of lumber in the foreign islands is very small in proportion to the demand for it in ours.

The question being asked, whether, should the prohibition continue which prevents the North Americans carrying on commerce with our sugar islands in their own bottoms, the islands might not without hazard, and upon moderate terms, be supplied with lumber and provisions? *apprehends they might, especially if the Bermudas is erected into a free port.*

23^d March 1784.

William Knox, Esq. being called in, and desired to give their Lordships his opinion upon the two following questions, viz. *

Whether if the whole, or any part of the United States, should prohibit the shipping of this country from loading in their ports with the produce of the said States, or should lay so high a tonnage duty upon British shipping as to amount to a prohibition, such a measure would not materially affect the navigation of this country to America, and prevent this country from being the entrepôt of the produce of the said States? and,

Whether in such case the commerce of this country would not materially suffer by being no longer the place where the subjects of the said States would make up their assortments of goods for the American markets? said, he *does not apprehend that a measure of that kind would be generally adopted by the States, as it*

* These two questions appear to have been framed by Mr. Atkinson.

would be so extremely prejudicial to their own interest, not by the southern States especially, who have very bulky commodities to export, and have but little shipping of their own, and this country is the best market or place of sale for a considerable part of their products, and the commodities which they want most, they can only have from this country. But if from resentment for not permitting their shipping to be received in our West India islands, or if by way of threat to this country, to induce us to receive their shipping, they should pass acts or resolves to prohibit intercourse with this country; he apprehends they would find it very difficult to enforce the execution of them; as even during the war, the commodities and manufactures of this country found means to get thither. Should they, however, find means of preventing it entirely, it certainly would be prejudicial to the commerce of this country.

At the end of the first day's examination, I gave an account of the regulations I had suggested, and Lord North had adopted and directed to be carried into execution, while he was Secretary of State, respecting our remaining territories in North America; when Lord Effingham

Effingham asked me, if it was not to be apprehended, that the restrictions I had proposed upon the grants of lands in Canada and Nova Scotia, would prevent the coming in of inhabitants to those Colonies? to which I answered, that my object was *to keep out the Republicans* of the United States, many of whom, I was sure, would soon be out of humour with their new Governments, and disposed to come under ours, but that I wished to have no *increase of such subjects* in our Colonies; and some of the Lords saying, there was no likelihood of that happening; I added, that if the plans I had formed, and the measures I had suggested, were fully executed and adhered to, I would risk my credit with their Lordships upon seeing, in the space of a dozen years, several of the United States anxiously desirous of being restored to the privileges of British subjects. A loud conversation immediately took place, which Lord Hawkesbury (then Mr. Jenkinson) put an end to by saying, they were got out of order, for those matters had nothing to do with the subject referred to them; and I was told I might withdraw.

No. XIX.

Reasons for restoring the entire Province of South Carolina to the King's Peace, with Answers to the Objections made to it.

IT is objected, that by restoring the whole province to peace, the prohibitory law will lose its force over those parts which are in rebellion, as well as those which are in the possession of the King's troops, consequently their trading vessels will not be liable to capture by the King's ships, at least they will not be intitled to them after condemnation, which will take away the incitement of interest for watching them; and that the removal of the laws of the province will also be a hindrance to military operations, by subjecting the troops to the civil authority.

In answer to the first part of the objection it is to be observed, that the port of George Town is the only one in South Carolina not in possession of the King's troops, and its bar is so shallow that a single armed vessel stationed within it can obstruct all its trade. The next port to it in North Carolina (Cape Fair) is in our hands, and every one to the southward, so

so that its utility to the rebels could not be great, even if it was left open; besides the laws of trade would be sufficient to prevent any foreign shipping coming into it by subjecting them to confiscation, and to prevent any going out without proper Custom-House clearances. Georgia is a case in point, for although Savannah only is occupied by the King's troops, and the whole province has been restored to peace, and a rebel force actually within it, no trade has been attempted from any of its other ports.

Whatever force there is in the other part of the objection, militates against itself. The object of the war is the recovery of the country by *reconciling the inhabitants*. The troops being under no controul of civil authority, plunder and oppress all indiscriminately, and no redress is to be had by the most loyal, more than the most rebellious; none, therefore, have encouragement to become loyal, and those who are so have resentment to urge them into rebellion: all accounts from Carolina agree in representing this to be the case at present. But the laws when in force will make a proper distinction; they will protect the
the

the loyal subject from the rapacity of the soldier, because he can appeal to them for justice; while the disloyal must suffer without redress, because he dare not subject himself to their authority by claiming it. Hence will arise a strong motive for submission, as protection will certainly follow it.

But on the other hand, the advantages of restoring the whole province to peace are positive and great. The first is the removing all jealousy of our intentions to govern them by a military force. The second is the arming Government with the powers given by the laws for punishing rebellion or treason, by confiscating the estates of the perpetrators, and inflicting capital punishment on themselves, instead of the ridiculous ceremony of taking paroles, or treating as prisoners of war and exchanging them as such. All revoltors will be liable to lose their estates if they escape, and if taken, to lose them also and suffer an ignominious death. The revival of the militia laws will increase the military force for the defence of the province. The inhabitants cannot now be called out in arms, but subject to military command and discipline, which they

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abhor,

abhor. Their own militia officers, and the authority given them by the laws of the province, are what they have been accustomed to obey, and they will readily serve under them again. Georgia could not have resisted the attacks made upon it since it was first recovered, if the militia laws had not been made of force by restoring the province to peace. But the greatest of all advantages remain to be mentioned; the calling an assembly. The part of the province within the posts, if members were only called from them, would be deemed a partial representation. The parts beyond them contain as loyal inhabitants as those within; for it was not the disposition of the people, but the convenience of communication with Charles Town, that determined Lord Rawdon in placing his posts. If there be not a rebel force to prevent the loyal inhabitants from assembling, they will generally elect representatives, and none will be elected or would come if they were elected, except Loyalists; for none else will obey the King's writ, or expose themselves to the operation of the laws by coming to Charles Town. If none come, the charge of a partial representative will be obviated, and if any come they will

be loyal ; for both the electors and elected, by obeying the King's writ, renounce independence.

The other advantages respecting trade and police are so obvious, that they need not be pointed out.

No. XX.

Stoneland, Aug. 7th, 1780.

Dear Sir,

I HOPE *New Ireland* continues to employ your thoughts : the more I think of * Oliver, for governor, the more I like him. The more difficult task will be to look forward to the proper system of government, for the whole of that immense continent. I wish you could pass two or three days here, that we might endeavour to prepare some plan for the consideration of the Cabinet. I dread nothing so much as the hurrying out of this war, before we are prepared for peace.

GEO. GERMAINE.

* Chief Justice of Massachusetts Bay.

No.

No. XXI.

Aug. 11th, 1780.

*THE King approves of the plan:** you will be so good to prepare what is proper for the Board of Trade. He likes Oliver for governor, so it may be offered him. He approves of Leonard for Chief Justice.

GEO. GERMAINE.

No. XXII.

Drayton, Jan. 1st, 1781.

Dear Sir,

I RETURN you the letters, extracts, &c. What you say to *** is so well connected with what he will have already received, that it must convince those who may read the correspondence, *that we have ever had in view a settlement in the Chesapeak, and have never altered our opinion about it.* * * * * *

* * * * *

I return you many thanks for the dispatch you

* For the New Province to be called New Ireland,
have

have given to so much business in so short a time, and for the clear and able manner in which you have executed it.

GEO. GERMAINE.

No. XXIII.

Pall-Mall, Nov. 19th, 1789.

Dear Sir,

I AM obliged to you for the Canada *precis*. I have now all the information I want. I am greatly concerned at the loss you have had; I hope you will not stay at home and give way to melancholy ideas; if your family should have the misfortune to lose you, *I am sure your services entitle them to the favor of Government.*

I am,

Very sincerely, your's,

GEO. GERMAINE.

* * * * *

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* * * * *

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For the New Province to be called New Ireland.

Knox, William, 1732-1810

Extra Official State Papers Addressed To The Right Hon. Lord Rawdon, And
The Other Members Of The Two Houses Of Parliament, Associated For The
Preservation Of The Constitution And Promoting The Prosperity Of The
British Empire

Bd.: 2

London (1789)

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